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# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. V.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

VOL. V.

# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

VOL. V.

A NEW EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:
Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.
MDCCLXXIII.

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# CONTENTS

## OF THE

## FIFTH VOLUME.

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### CHAP. XXXVIII.

### ELIZABETH.

*Queen's popularity——Re-eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion——A parliament——Peace with France——Diſguſt between the queen and Mary queen of Scots——Scots affairs——Reformation in Scotland——Civil wars in Scotland——Interpoſal of the queen in Scots affairs——Settlement of Scotland——French affairs——Arrival of Mary in Scotland——Bigotry of the Scotch reformers——Wiſe government of Elizabeth.* Page 1

### CHAP. XXXIX.

*State of Europe——Civil wars of France——Havre de Grace put in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh——A parliament——Havre loſt——Scots affairs——The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley——Confederacy againſt the proteſtants——Murder of Rizzio——A parliament——Murder of Darnley——Queen of Scots marries Bothwel——Inſurrections*



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10238 o.o.

*tions in Scotland——Imprisonment of Mary——Mary flies into England——Conferences at York and Hampton-Court.* Page 64

## CHAP. XL.

*Character of the puritans——Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy——Insurrection in the north——Assassination of the earl of Murray——A parliament——Civil wars of France——Affairs of the Low Countries——New conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk——Trial of Norfolk——His execution——Scots affairs——French affairs——Massacre of Paris——French affairs——Civil wars of the Low Countries——A parliament.* 149

## CHAP. XLI.

*Scots affairs——Spanish affairs——Sir Francis Drake——A parliament——Negotiations of marriage with the duke of Anjou——Scots affairs——Letter of queen Mary to Elizabeth——Conspiracies in England——A parliament——The ecclesiastical commission——Affairs of the Low Countries——Hostilities with Spain.* 230

## CHAP. XLII.

*Zeal of the catholics——Babington's conspiracy——Mary assents to the conspiracy——The conspirators seized and executed——Resolution to try the queen of Scots——The commissioners prevail on her to submit to the trial——The trial——Sentence against*

*againſt Mary——Interpoſition of king James——Reaſons for the execution of Mary——The execution——Mary's character——The queen's affected ſorrow——Drake deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz——Philip projects the invaſion of England——The invincible Armada——Preparations in England——The Armada arrives in the Channel——Defeated——A parliament——Expedition againſt Portugal——Scots affairs.* Page 282

CHAP. XLIII.

*French affairs——Murder of the duke of Guiſe——Murder of Henry the third——Progreſs of Henry the fourth——Naval enterprizes againſt Spain——A parliament——Henry the fourth embraces the catholic religion——Scots affairs——Naval enterprizes——A parliament——Peace of Vervins——The earl of Eſſex.* 354

CHAP. XLIV.

*State of Ireland——Tyrone's rebellion——Eſſex ſent over to Ireland——His ill ſucceſs——Returns to England——Is diſgraced——His intrigues——His inſurrection——His trial and execution——French affairs——Mountjoy's ſucceſs in Ireland——Defeat of the Spaniards and Iriſh——A parliament——Tyrone's ſubmiſſion——Queen's ſickneſs——And death——And character.* 395

APPEN-

CONTENTS.

## APPENDIX III.

*Government of England——Revenues——Commerce ——Military force——Manufactories—— Learning.* Page 451

THE

# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## ELIZABETH.

### CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Queen's popularity——Re-eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion——A parliament——Peace with France——Diſguſt between the queen and Mary queen of Scots——Affairs of Scotland——Reformation in Scotland——Civil wars in Scotland——Interpoſal of the queen in the affairs of Scotland——Settlement of Scotland——French affairs——Arrival of Mary in Scotland——Bigotry of the Scotch Reformers——Wiſe government of Elizabeth.*

IN a nation ſo divided as the Engliſh, it could ſcarcely be expected, that the death of one ſovereign, and the acceſſion of another, who was generally believed to have embraced oppoſite principles to thoſe which prevailed, could be the object of univerſal ſatisfaction: Yet CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1558. Queen's popularity.

so much were men displeased with the present conduct of affairs, and such apprehensions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological disputes, expressed a general and unfeigned joy that the sceptre had passed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princess had discovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her sister; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger, to which she was every moment exposed, compassion towards her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been assembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heathe, archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save queen Elizabeth: Long "and happily may she reign." The people, less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auspicious commencement of this reign prognosticated that felicity and glory, which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it [a].

ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days she proceeded thence to London through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower, she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigotted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expressed her thanks to Heaven, for the deliverance, which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 373.

deliverance,

deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance, in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Bennifield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment [b]. Yet was not the gracious reception, which she gave, prostitute and undistinguishing. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity [c].

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts, her sister's death, and her own accession to the crown. She sent lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and she took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had so happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. But Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining this proposal. She saw, that the nation had

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p 374. [c] Ibid. Heylin, p. 102.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

entertained an extreme averſion to the Spaniſh alliance during her ſiſter's reign; and that one great cauſe of the popularity, which ſhe herſelf enjoyed, was the proſpect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign ſubjection. She was ſenſible, that her affinity with Philip was exactly ſimilar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herſelf illegitimate, and incapable of ſucceeding to the throne. And though the power of the Spaniſh monarchy might ſtill be ſufficient, in oppoſition to all pretenders, to ſupport her title, her maſculine ſpirit diſdained ſuch precarious dominion, which, as it would depend ſolely on the power of another, muſt be exerciſed according to his inclination [d]. But while theſe views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, ſhe gave him an obliging, though evaſive, anſwer; and he ſtill retained ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſenger to Rome, with orders to ſolicit the diſpenſation.

THE queen too, on her ſiſter's death, had written to Sir Edward Carne, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Rome, to notify her acceſſion to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious meaſures concerted by this young princeſs. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy ſee; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have aſſumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: That being illegitimate, ſhe could not poſſibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the ſentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: That were he to proceed with rigour, he ſhould puniſh this criminal invaſion of his rights, by rejecting all her applications; but being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would ſtill keep the door of grace open

[d] Camden in Kennet, p. 370. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 375.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

to her: And that if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity, compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see [e]. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures, which she had already secretly embraced.

Re establishment of the protestant religion.

THE queen, not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be affectionate to the protestant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state [f]. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. Cecil told her, that the greatest part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties, exercised by her ministers, had still more alienated their affections from it: That happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: That a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependant footing:

[e] Father Paul, lib. 5.

[f] Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 5.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1558.

That this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: That the curses and execrations of the Romish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: That though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always ensure to her the friendship of the other: That if they encouraged the discontents of her catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them: That even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the catholic faith, would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: That the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first enured the people to this submissive deference; and it was the less difficult for the succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track, to which it had so long been accustomed: And that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant [g].

THE education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party, which she should embrace. But though determined in her own

[g] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 377. Camden, p. 370.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1558.

mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion [h]. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecution. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners, who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: She readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty, which he demanded for them [i].

ELIZABETH also proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative, during that age. Finding, that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence [k]; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care, that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service; the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels; to be read in English. And having first published injunctions, that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the hoste to be any more elevated in her presence; an

h Burnet, vol. ii. p. 378. Camden, p. 371.
i Heylin, p. 103.
k Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 41.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

innovation, which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences [l].

1558.

These declarations of her intention, concurring with the preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee with certainty a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty, that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform that ceremony. When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies, which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable [m]. Such were the innocent artifices, by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude: And while a young princess of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her accession) who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

[l] Camden, p. 371. Heylin, p. 104. Strype, vol. i. p. 54. Stowe, p. 635.
[m] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380. Strype, vol. i. p. 29.

A Sove-

A SOVEREIGN of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority [n]; and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular, which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that queen "Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word "of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, "the lawful undoubted, and true heir to the crown, law-"fully descended from the blood-royal, according to the "order of succession, settled in the 35th of Henry VIII [o]." This act of recognition was undoubtedly dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she shewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms, which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: She knew, that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly, which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile,

1558.

A parliament.

[n] Notwithstanding the byas of the nation towards the protestant sect, it appears, that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections: Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough and three to each county; and by the sheriffs authority the members were chosen from among these candidates. *See state papers collected by Edward earl of Clarendon*, p. 92.

[o] 1 Eliz. cap. 3.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1558.

ſervile, and iniquitous deciſions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the leſs anxiety ſhe diſcovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries; ſhe took poſſeſſion of the throne, both as her birthright, and as enſured to her by former acts of parliament; and ſhe never appeared anxious to diſtinguiſh theſe titles [p].

THE firſt bill brought into parliament with a view of trying their diſpoſition on the head of religion, was that for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and for reſtoring the tenths and firſt-fruits to the queen. This point being gained without much difficulty, a bill was next introduced, annexing the ſupremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated *governeſs*, not *head*, of the church, it conveyed the ſame extenſive power, which, under the latter title, had been exerciſed by her father and brother. All the biſhops who were preſent in the upper houſe ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this law; and as they poſſeſſed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that houſe, as well as among the commons, was againſt them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence, either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was veſted with the whole ſpiritual power; might repreſs all hereſies, might eſtabliſh or repeal all canons, might alter every point of diſcipline, and might ordain or aboliſh any religious rite or ceremony [q]. In determining hereſy, the ſovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to ſuch doctrines as had been adjudged hereſy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the firſt four general councils, or by any general council, which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to ſuch other doc-

[p] Camden, p. 372. Heylin, p. 107, 108.

[q] 1 Eliz. cap. 1. This laſt power was anew recognized in the act of uniformity. 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

trines

trines as ſhould hereafter be denominated hereſy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exerciſe this authority, the queen, by a clauſe of the act, was empowered to name commiſſioners, either laymen or clergymen, as ſhe ſhould think proper; and on this clauſe was afterwards founded the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; which aſſumed large diſcretionary, not to ſay arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the conſtitution. Their proceedings indeed were only conſiſtent with abſolute monarchy; but were entirely ſuitable to the genius of the act on which they were eſtabliſhed; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power, which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even theſe uſurping prelates had never been able fully to exerciſe, without ſome concurrence of the national clergy. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

WHOEVER refuſed to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's ſupremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the ſupremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the firſt offence, all his goods and chattels; for the ſecond, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treaſon. Theſe puniſhments, however ſevere, were leſs rigorous than thoſe which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like caſes.

A LAW was paſſed, confirming all the ſtatutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion[r]: The nomination of biſhops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: The queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any ſee, to ſeize all the temporalities, and to beſtow on the biſhop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value;

[r] 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

and

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1558.

and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

THE bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers, during this reign, to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent; and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on [s]. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped, till they had reduced the church to such poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A SOLEMN and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment [t]. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill [u] for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments.

[s] Strype, vol. i, p. 79. [t] Ibid. p. 95. [u] 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

And

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1558.

And thus in one ſeſſion, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole ſyſtem of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whoſe title to the crown was by many eſteemed liable to great objections: An event, which, though it may appear ſurpriſing to men in the preſent age, was every where expected on the firſt intelligence of Elizabeth's acceſſion.

THE commons alſo made a ſacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: They voted a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods, together with two fifteenths [w]. The houſe in no inſtance departed from the moſt reſpectful deference and complaiſance towards the queen. Even the importunate addreſs, which they made her on the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to fix her choice of a huſband, could not, they ſuppoſed, be very diſagreeable to one of her ſex and age. The addreſs was couched in the moſt reſpectful expreſſions; yet met with a refuſal from the queen. She told the ſpeaker, that, as the application from the houſe was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a huſband, ſhe could not take offence at the addreſs, or regard it otherwiſe than as a new inſtance of their affectionate attachment to her: That any farther interpoſition on their part would have ill become either them to make as ſubjects, or her to bear as an independant princeſs: That even while ſhe was a private perſon, and expoſed to much danger, ſhe had always declined that engagement, which ſhe regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at preſent, would ſhe perſevere in this ſentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the intereſts of religion

[w] See note [A] at the end of the volume.

and

CHAP. XXXVIII.

and the happineſs of her ſubjects: That as England was her huſband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here ſhe

1559. ſhewed her finger with the ſame gold ring upon it, with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration) ſo all Engliſhmen were her children; and while ſhe was employed in rearing or governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not deem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs and unprofitable: That if ſhe ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her ſubjects' welfare would ſtill be uppermoſt in her thoughts; but ſhould ſhe live and die a virgin, ſhe doubted not but divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign, who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example, in loving and cheriſhing her people: And that for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character, or fairer remembrance of her ſhould he tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature; "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a "maiden queen [x]."

8th May. AFTER the prorogation of the parliament [y], the laws, enacted with regard to religion, were put in execution, and met with little oppoſition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen by a ſickly ſeaſon, which preceded; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaffe, having refuſed compliance, were de-

[x] Camden, p. 375. Sir Simon d'Ewes.

[y] It is thought remarkable by Camden, that though this ſeſſion was the firſt of the reign, no perſon was attainted; but on the contrary, ſome reſtored in blood by the parliament. A good ſymptom of the lenity, at leaſt of the prudence of the queen's government; and that it ſhould appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

graded

graded from their fees: But of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near 10,000 parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles [z]. Those in high ecclesiastical stations, being exposed to the eyes of the world, seem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perseverance; but on the whole, the protestants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conscientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itself to the senses, and enjoining observances, which enter into the common train of life, does at present lay faster hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly spiritual, resembles more a system of metaphysics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after the reformation, much greater on the side of the protestants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and supinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: But the reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion, and inflamed to a degree of enthusiasm by novelty and persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and even their lives, in support of their speculative and abstract principles.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

The forms and ceremonies, still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy [a], even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church.

[z] Camden, p. 376. Heylin, p. 115. Strype, vol. i. p. 73. with some small variations.

[a] Heylin, p. 111.

Had

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead [b]. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions [c].

Peace with France.

WHILE the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negociations for a peace were still conducted, first at Cercamp, then at Cateau-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not so successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war; and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all such views, his ministers hinted to her a proposal, which may be regarded as reasonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were settled, he seemed willing to continue the war, till she should obtain satisfaction; provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 376, 397. Camden, p. 371. [c] Camden, p. 378. Strype, vol. i. p. 150, 370.

alliance,

alliance, and continue hoſtilities againſt Henry, during the courſe of ſix years [d]: But Elizabeth, after conſulting with her miniſters, wiſely rejected this propoſal. She was ſenſible of the low ſtate of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and ſiſter; the diſorders introduced into every part of the adminiſtration; the diviſions by which her people were agitated; and ſhe was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during ſome years could bring the kingdom again into a flouriſhing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour, in her tranſactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impoſſibility, during the preſent emergency, of recovering it by treaty, ſhe was willing rather to ſuffer that loſs, than ſubmit to ſuch a dependance on Spain, as ſhe muſt expect to fall into, if ſhe continued pertinaciouſly in her preſent demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambaſſadors, lord Effingham, the biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negociation, and to ſettle a peace with Henry, on any reaſonable terms. Henry offered to ſtipulate a marriage between the eldeſt daughter of the dauphin, and the eldeſt ſon of Elizabeth; and to engage for the reſtitution of Calais as the dowry of that princeſs [e]; but as the queen was ſenſible, that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evaſion, ſhe inſiſted upon more equitable, at leaſt, more plauſible conditions. It was at laſt agreed, that Henry ſhould reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in caſe of failure, he ſhould pay five hundred thouſand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais ſtill remain; that he ſhould find the ſecurity of ſeven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this ſum; that he ſhould deliver five hoſtages till that ſecurity was provided; that if Elizabeth broke

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

[d] Forbes's Full View, vol. i. p. 59.

[e] Forbes, vol. i. p. 54.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

the peace with France or Scotland during that interval, ſhe ſhould forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he ſhould be obliged immediately to reſtore that fortreſs [f]. All men of penetration eaſily ſaw, that theſe ſtipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen on account of the neceſſity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in ſubmitting, without further ſtruggle, to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland was a neceſſary conſequence of that with France.

PHILIP and Henry terminated hoſtilities by a mutual reſtitution of all places taken during the courſe of the war; and Philip eſpouſed the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his ſon Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's ſiſter, and obtained a reſtitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns, retained by France. And thus general tranquillity ſeemed to be reſtored to Europe.

Diſguſt between the queen, and Mary queen of Scots.

BUT though a peace was concluded and ſigned between France and England, there ſoon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the moſt ſerious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII. that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it ſeemed impoſſible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: But ſtill the birth of Elizabeth lay under ſome diſadvantages, to which that of her ſiſter, Mary, was not expoſed. Henry's firſt marriage had obtained the ſanction of all the powers, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural, for proteſtants as well as Romaniſts, to allow, on account of the ſincere intention of the parties, that their iſſue ought

[f] Forbes, p. 68. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 505.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negociated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse: The duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking, that it would much augment their credit, if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension had not been ad-

CHAP. XXXVIII.

vanced during the reign of her ſiſter Mary; and that, therefore, the king of France intended, on the firſt opportunity, to diſpute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, ſhe thenceforth conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as poſſible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The ſudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the eſpouſals of his ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his ſucceſſor, Francis II. ſtill continued to aſſume, without reſerve, the title of king of England, ſhe began to conſider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the preſent ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own ſafety.

1559.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE murder of the cardinal-primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scotch catholics of a head, whoſe ſeverity, courage, and capacity had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws againſt hereſy began thenceforth to be more remiſs and gentle. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counſels; and as ſhe was not diſpoſed to ſacrifice the civil intereſts of the ſtate to the bigotry or intereſts of the clergy, ſhe deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progreſs of a doctrine, which ſhe had not power entirely to repreſs. When informed of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of Mary to the crown of England, ſhe entertained hopes, that the Scottiſh reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would loſe their ardour with their proſpect of ſucceſs, and would gradually return to the faith of their anceſtors. But the progreſs and revolutions of religion are little governed by the uſual maxims

maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the regent's expectations. Many of the English preachers, terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration; and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigotted catholics, and showed their disciples the fate, which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrouled authority over them. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

A HIERARCHY, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, may safely grant a toleration to sectaries; and the more it softens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages, which the legal establishments bestow upon it. But where superstition has raised a church to such an exorbitant height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a necessary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, besides religious zeal, have so many other motives, derived both from public and private interest, to engage them on the side of innovation. But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes, when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever considers merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the situations, will remark the necessary progress of human affairs, and the operation of those principles, which are inherent in human nature.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559. Reformation in Scotland.

SOME heads of the reformers in Scotland, such as the earl of Argyle, his son lord Lorne, the earls of Morton, and Glencarne, Erskine of Dun, and others, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or association; and called themselves the *Congregation* of the Lord, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenor of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how "Satan, in his members, the antichrist of our time, do "cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the "gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, accord- "ing to our bounden duty, to strive, in our master's "cause, even unto the death, being certain of the "victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the "majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his "grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our "whole power, substance, and our very lives, to main- "tain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word "of God and his congregation: and shall labour, by "all possible means, to have faithful ministers, truly and "purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to "his people: We shall maintain them, nourish them, "and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, "and every member thereof, by our whole power, and "at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all "wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble "against the said congregation: Unto which holy "word and congregation we do join ourselves; and "we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, "with all the superstitious abomination and idola- "try thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves "manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise "before God, testified to this congregation by our sub-

"scriptions.

"scriptions. At Edinburgh, the third of December, "1557 [g]." CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

HAD the subscribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretensions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praise of opposing tyrannical laws, enacted to support an establishment prejudicial to civil society: But it is plain, that they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately discovered the spirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority, which, they thought, belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained, that prayers in the vulgar tongue [h] should be used in all the parish churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the scriptures should be practised in private houses, till God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers [i]. Such bonds of association are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invasion of the established religion was the actual commencement of it.

BEFORE this league was publicly known or avowed, the clergy, alarmed with the progress of the reformation, attempted to recover their lost authority, by a violent exercise of power, which tended still farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, seized Walter Mill, a priest of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for heresy. Such general aversion was discovered to this barbarity, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil

g Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

h The reformers used at that time king Edward's liturgy in Scotland. Forbes, p. 155.

i Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 101.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

judge, and pronounce ſentence upon Mill; and even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the ſhops of St. Andrews being ſhut, no one would ſell a rope to tie him to the ſtake, and the primate himſelf was obliged to furniſh this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage, which, though uſual on theſe occaſions, always appears ſupernatural and aſtoniſhing to the multitude. The people, to expreſs their abhorrence againſt the cruelty of the prieſts, raiſed a monument of ſtones on the place of his execution; and as faſt as the ſtones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again ſupplied from the voluntary zeal of the populace [k]. It is in vain for men to oppoſe the ſevereſt puniſhment to the united motives of religion and public applauſe; and this was the laſt barbarity of the kind, which the catholics had the power to exerciſe in Scotland.

1559.

SOME time after, the people diſcovered their ſentiments in ſuch a manner as was ſufficient to prognoſticate to the prieſts the fate, which was awaiting them. It was uſual on the feſtival of St. Giles, the tutelar ſaint of Edinburgh, to carry in proceſſion the image of that ſaint; but the proteſtants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the feſtival, to purloin the ſtatue from the church; and they pleaſed themſelves with imagining the ſurpriſe and diſappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed haſtily a new image, which, in deriſion, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the ſtreets, attended with all the eccleſiaſtics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abſtained from violence ſo long as the queen-regent continued a ſpectator, but the moment ſhe retired, they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the prieſts and friars, who, it was remarked, deſerted,

[k] Knox, p. 122.

in

in his greateſt diſtreſs, the object of their worſhip, was the ſource of univerſal mockery and laughter. CHAP. XXXVIII.

ENCOURAGED by all theſe appearances, the congregation proceeded with alacrity in openly ſoliciting ſubſcriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the acceſſion of Elizabeth, which happened about this time contributed to encreaſe their hopes of final ſucceſs in their undertaking. They ventured to preſent a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the *wicked*, *ſcandalous*, and *deteſtable* lives of the prelates and eccleſiaſtics [l]. They framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parliament, and in which, after premiſing, that they could not communicate with the damnable idolatry, and intolerable abuſes of the papiſtical church, they deſired, that the laws againſt heretics ſhould be executed by the civil magiſtrate alone, and that the ſcripture ſhould be the ſole rule for judging of hereſy [m]. They even petitioned the convocation, and inſiſted, that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, and that biſhops ſhould be choſen with the conſent of the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhioners [n]. The regent prudently temporized between theſe parties; and as ſhe aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her ſon-in-law, the dauphin, ſhe was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them. 1559.

BUT after this conceſſion was obtained, ſhe received orders from France, probably dictated by the haughty ſpirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigour againſt the reformers, and to reſtore the royal authority by ſome ſignal act of power [o]. She made the moſt eminent of the proteſtant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but when their followers were marching

l Knox, p. 121. m Ibid, p. 123. n Keith, p. 78, 81, 82. o Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24. Jebb, vol. ii p. 446.

thither

CHAP. XXXVIII.

thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, ſhe entertained apprehenſions of an inſurrection, and, it is ſaid, diſſipated the people by a promiſe [p], that nothing ſhould be done to the prejudice of the miniſters. This promiſe was violated; and a ſentence paſſed, by which all the miniſters were pronounced rebels on account of their not appearing. A meaſure, ſo raſh and ill adviſed, enraged the people, and made them reſolve to oppoſe the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremity againſt the clergy of the eſtabliſhed religion.

1559.

In this critical time, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had paſſed ſome years in baniſhment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the higheſt fanaticiſm of his ſect, augmented by the natural ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the preſent ferment of men's minds, he declaimed with his uſual vehemence againſt the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmoſt zeal for its ſubverſion. A prieſt was ſo imprudent, after this ſermon, as to open his repoſitory of images and reliques, and prepare himſelf to ſay maſs. The audience, exalted to a diſpoſition for any furious enterprize, were as much enraged as if the ſpectacle had not been quite familiar to them: They attacked the prieſt with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes; and left no implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monaſteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an inſtant: The Carthuſians underwent the ſame fate: And the po-

11th May.

[p] See note [B] at the end of the volume.

pulace,

pulace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings, which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of these edifices was left standing. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife soon after imitated the example [q].

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

Civil wars in Scotland.

THE queen-regent, provoked at these violences assembled an army, and prepared to chastise the rebels. She had about two thousand French under her command, with a few Scottish troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as were well affected to her, she pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterprize, either because they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped by their own influence and authority to mediate some agreement between the parties. The congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and being joined by the earl of Glencarne from the west, and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They sent an address to the regent, where they plainly insinuated, that, if they were pursued to extremity, by the *cruel beasts* the churchmen, they would have recourse to foreign powers for assistance; and they subscribed themselves her faithful subjects in all things not repugnant to God; assuming, at the same time the name of the faithful congregation of Christ Jesus [r]. They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained, that their own past violences were justified by the word of God, which commands the godly to destroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and though all civil authority was sacred, yet was there a great difference be-

[q] Spotswood, p. 121. Knox, p. 127.

[r] Knox, p. 129.

tween

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

tween the authority and the persons who exercised it [s]; and that it ought to be considered, whether or not those abominations, called by the pestilent papists, Religion, and which they defend by fire and sword, be the true religion of Christ Jesus. They remonstrated with such of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them, "That as they were already reputed traitors by God, they should likewise be excommunicated "from their society, and from the participation of the "sacraments of the church, which God by his mighty "power had erected among them; whose ministers have "the same authority which Christ granted to his apostles "in these words, *Whose sins ye shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain shall be retained* [t]." We may here see, that these new saints were no less lofty in their pretensions than the ancient hierarchy; and it was therefore no wonder they were enraged against the latter as their rivals in dominion. They joined to all these declarations an address to the established church; and they affixed this title to it. "To the generation of "antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their *shavelings* [u] "in Scotland, the congregation of Christ Jesus within "the same sayeth." The tenor of the manifesto was suitable to the title. They told the ecclesiastics, "As "ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, "but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of "the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the "force and power which God shall grant unto us, exe-"cute just vengeance and punishment upon you: Yea, "we shall begin that same war which God commanded "Israel to execute against the Canaanites; that is, con-"tract of peace shall never be made, till you desist from "your open idolatry, and cruel persecution of God's

[s] Knox, p. 131.

[t] Ibid. p. 133.

[u] A contemptuous term for a priest.

"children.

"children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and "of his ſon Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe verity we profeſs, and "Goſpel we have preached, and holy ſacraments rightly "adminiſtered, we ſignify unto you, to be our intent, "ſo far as God will aſſiſt us to withſtand your idolatry. "Take this for warning, and be not deceived [w]." With theſe outrageous ſymptoms, commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which long infeſted that kingdom, and which, though now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, is ſtill ready to break out on all occaſions. 1559.

THE queen regent, finding ſuch obſtinate zeal in the rebels, was content to embrace the counſels of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and to form an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which ſubmitted, on her promiſing an indemnity for paſt offences, and engaging not to leave any French garriſon in the place. Complaints, very ill founded, immediately aroſe concerning the infraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were moleſted on account of the late violences; and ſome companies of Scotch ſoldiers, ſuppoſed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town; which ſtep, though taken on a very plauſible pretence, was loudly exclaimed againſt by the congregation [x]. It is aſſerted, that the regent, to juſtify theſe meaſures, declared, that princes ought not to have their promiſes too ſtrictly urged upon them; nor was any faith to be kept with heretics: And that for her part, could ſhe find as good a colour of reaſon, ſhe would willingly bereave all theſe men of their lives and fortunes [y]. But it is no wiſe likely, that ſuch expreſſions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princeſs. On the contrary, it appears, that all theſe violences were diſagreeable to her; that ſhe

[w] Keith, p. 85, 86, 87. Knox, p. 134.
[x] Knox, p. 139.
[y] Ibid. Spotſwood, p. 123.

was

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

was in this particular over-ruled by the authority of the French counſellors placed about her; and that ſhe often thought, if the management of thoſe affairs had been entruſted wholly to herſelf, ſhe could eaſily, without force, have accommodated all differences [z].

THE congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by theſe diſappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had ſigned a new covenant, in which, beſides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in deſtroying every thing that diſhonoured his holy name; and this covenant was ſubſcribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews [a]. Theſe two leaders now deſired no better pretence for deſerting the regent and openly joining their aſſociates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather falſe, of her breach of promiſe. The congregation alſo, encouraged by this acceſſion of force, gave themſelves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anſtruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monaſteries with thoſe formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched againſt them with her army, finding their power ſo much encreaſed, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days, and to paſs over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers beſieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exerciſed their uſual fury; and finding nothing able to reſiſt them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the congregation againſt the churches and monaſteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with the few forces

[z] See note [C] at the end of the volume.
[a] Keith, p. 89. Knox, p. 138.

which

which remained with her, took shelter in Dunbar, where she fortified herself, in expectation of a reinforcement from France. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

MEANWHILE, she employed her partizans in representing to the people the dangerous consequences of this open rebellion; and she endeavoured to convince them, that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the scheme of wresting the sceptre from the hands of the sovereign. By these considerations many were engaged to desert the army of the congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of subsistance; and the regent, observing the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a design of suppressing them. On the interposition of the duke of Chatelrault, who still adhered to her, she agreed to a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city of Edinburgh; and before they left it, they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publish only the articles favourable to themselves, and they were guilty of an imposture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry should not again be erected in any place where it was at that time suppressed [b].

AN agreement, concluded while men were in this disposition, could not be durable; and both sides endeavoured to strengthen themselves as much as possible, against the ensuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of 1000 men from France, began to fortify Leith; and the congregation seduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at last determined by the arrival of his son, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had escaped many dangers, from the jealousy, as well as bigotry, of Henry and the duke

[b] See note [D] at the end of the volume.

of

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

of Guiſe. More French troops ſoon after diſembarked under the command of La Broſſe, who was followed by the biſhop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne. Theſe laſt were ſupplied with ſtore of ſyllogiſms, authorities, citations, and ſcholaſtic arguments, which they intended to oppoſe to the Scotch preachers, and which, they juſtly preſumed, would acquire force, and produce conviction on men's minds, by the influence of the French arms and artillery [c].

THE conſtable Montmorency had always oppoſed the marriage of the Dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that, by forming ſuch cloſe connexion with Scotland, the ancient league would be diſſolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would ſoon become, inſtead of allies, attached by intereſt and inclination, the moſt inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event ſeemed now to have juſtified the prudence of that aged miniſter, it is not improbable, conſidering the violent counſels, by which France was governed, that the inſurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence, for ſending over armies, for entirely ſubduing the country, for attainting the rebels [d], and for preparing means thence to invade England, and ſupport Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the congregation, well acquainted with theſe views, were not inſenſible of their danger, and ſaw that their only ſafety conſiſted in the vigour and ſucceſs of their meaſures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the ſudden death of Henry II.; and having paſſed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution againſt

[c] Spotſwood, p. 134. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 10.
[d] Forbes, vol. i. p. 139. Thuan. lib. xxiv. c. 13.

them. They became masters again of Edinburgh; but found themselves unable to keep long possession of that city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated themselves upon the least disaster, or even any delay of success; and were incapable of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying a new army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excusable for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination, no less than of interest [e]. Maitland of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1559.

THE wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil in particular represented to the queen, that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negociation, to prevent it: That the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: That the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known; and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the Interposition of the queen in Scotch affairs.

[e] See note [E] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1559.

throne of England: That deeming themſelves ſecure of ſucceſs, they had already, ſomewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the maſk; and Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſent over, by every courier, inconteſtible proofs of their hoſtile intentions [f]: That they only waited till Scotland ſhould be entirely ſubdued; and having thus deprived the Engliſh of the advantages reſulting from their ſituation and naval power, they prepared means for ſubverting the queen's authority: That the zealous catholics in England, diſcontented with the preſent government, and ſatisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them conſiderable reinforcement, and would diſturb every meaſure of defence againſt that formidable power: That the only expedient for preventing theſe deſigns was to ſeize the preſent opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the proteſtants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the juſtice of a meaſure, founded on ſuch evident neceſſity, and directed only to the ends of ſelf-preſervation: That though a French war, attended with great expence, ſeemed the neceſſary conſequence of ſupporting the malcontents in Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much leſs formidable; and a ſmall diſburſement at preſent would in the end be found the greateſt frugality: And that the domeſtic diſſentions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithſtanding his bigotry and hypocriſy, would never permit the entire conqueſt of England, were ſufficient to ſecure the queen againſt the dangerous ambition and reſentment of the houſe of Guiſe [g].

[f] Forbes, vol. i. p. 134, 136, 149, 150, 159, 165, 181, 194, 229, 231, 235 — 241, 253.

[g] Forbes, vol. i. p. 387. Jebb, vol. i. p. 448. Keith, append. 24.

ELIZABETH's

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ELIZABETH's propenſity to caution and œconomy was, though with ſome difficulty [h], overcome by theſe powerful motives; and ſhe prepared herſelf to ſupport by arms and money the declining affairs of the congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, ſhe ſent it to the Frith of Forth: She named the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and ſhe aſſembled at Berwic an army of eight thouſand men under the command of lord Gray, warden of the eaſt and middle marches. Though the court of France, ſenſible of the danger, offered her to make immediate reſtitution of Calais, provided ſhe would not interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland; ſhe reſolutely replied, That ſhe never would put an inconſiderable fiſhing-town in competition with the ſafety of her dominions [i]; and ſhe ſtill continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to laſt during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis and a year after; and ſhe promiſed never to deſiſt till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland [k]. And having thus taken all proper meaſures for ſucceſs, and received from the Scots ſix hoſtages for the performance of articles, ſhe ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations. 1559.

THE appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith diſconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themſelves for defence. The Engliſh army, reinforced by 5000 Scots [l], ſat down before that place; 1560. 15th Jan.

[h] Forbes, vol. i. p. 454, 460. [i] Spotſwood, p. 146. [k] Knox, p. 217. Haynes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 153. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 569. [l] Haynes, vol. i. p. 256, 259.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1560. and after two skirmishes, in the former of which, the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and though repulsed with considerable loss in a rash and ill-conducted assault, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties. Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion by a storm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a considerable army on board [m], and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the castle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which shone forth in her family, but possessed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, and who saw, that the English were continually reinforced by fresh

5th July. numbers, were obliged to capitulate: And the bishop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that

Settlement of Scotland. purpose. It was there stipulated, that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom; that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and that commissioners should meet to settle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain should be arbiter between the crowns. Besides these stipulations, which regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen of Scots

[m] Haynes, vol. i. p. 223.

shoul

should chuse seven, and the states five, and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed during that queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without consent of the states [n]. In order to hasten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1560.

THUS Europe saw, in the first transaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her ministers. She discerned at a distance the danger, which threatened her; and instantly took vigorous measures to prevent it. Making all possible advantages of her situation, she proceeded with celerity to a decision; and was not diverted by any offers, negociations, or remonstrances of the French court. She stopped not till she had brought the matter to a final issue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies trusted for her destruction, into her firmest support and security. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottish malcontents even during their greatest distresses, she established an entire confidence with them; and having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, interest, and religion, she now possessed an influence over them above what remained even with their native sovereign. The regard, which she acquired by this dextrous and spirited conduct, gave her every where, abroad as well as at home, more authority than had attended her sister, though supported by all the power of the Spanish monarchy [o].

THE subsequent measures of the Scotch reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or scruple, in fully effecting their

[n] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 593. Keith, p. 137. Spotswood, p. 147. Knox, p. 229. [o] Forbes, vol. i. p. 354, 372. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 452.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1560.

purpose. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention should soon be assembled; and the leaders of the congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots should ratify that treaty, thought themselves fully entitled, without the sovereign's authority, immediately to summon a parliament. The reformers presented a petition to this assembly; in which they were not contented with desiring the establishment of their doctrine; they also applied for the punishment of the catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman harlot; and they asserted, that, among all the rabble of the clergy, such is their expression, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth [p]. The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a confession of faith, agreeable to the new doctrines, they passed a statute against the mass, and not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it or was present at it, should be chastised, for the first offence, with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life [q]. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland: The presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called Superintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the invasion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till at last, these ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then

[p] Knox, p. 237, 238.

[q] Ibid. p. 254.

cited

cited to appear; and as nobody presented himself, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1560.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts; but was very ill received by the queen, who denied the validity of a parliament, summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes. But the protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: They abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took possession, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not restrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and they dispatched Morton, Glencarne, and Lidington to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them.

French affairs.

Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reason to maintain an union with the Scotch protestants; and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title, and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them,

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1560.

them, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and showed no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal injury and affront, which they had put upon her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions, which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition, which had arisen against the measures of the duke of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had engrossed all the authority of the crown; and as he was possessed of every quality, which could command the esteem or seduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquisitions and pretensions. The constable Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: The princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: The queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining: And as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his consort, who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles, men despaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aspiring family. It was the contests of religion, which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose their unlimited authority.

THE theological disputes, first started in the north of Germany, and next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the proselytes to the new religion

gion were secretly encreasing in every province. Henry II. in imitation of his father Francis, had opposed the progress of the reformers; and though a prince addicted to pleasure and society, he was transported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predecessor. Rigorous punishments had been inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party; and a point of honour seemed to have arisen, whether the one sect could exercise, or the other suffer most barbarity. The death of Henry put some stop to the persecutions; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour and prepossession their arguments and doctrines. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to support the established religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild dispositions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who possessed many great qualities, having declared themselves in favour of the protestants, that sect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer scrupled to make open profession of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed sincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his high reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, gave credit to the reformers; and after a frustrated attempt of the malcontents to seize the king's person at Amboise, of which Elizabeth had probably some intelligence [r], every place was full of distrac-

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1560.

[r] Forbes, vol. i. p. 214. Throgmorton, about this time, unwilling to entrust to letters the great secrets committed to him, obtained leave, under some pretext, to come over to London.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

tion, and matters haſtened to an extremity between the parties. But the houſe of Guiſe, though theſe factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cauſe of Elizabeth's ſucceſs, were determined not to relinquiſh their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of ſeizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into priſon; they obtained a ſentence of death againſt the latter; and they were proceeding to put the ſentence in execution, when the king's ſudden death ſaved the noble priſoner, and interrupted the proſperity of the duke of Guiſe.

1560.

4th Dec. 1561. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her ſon Charles IX. now in his minority: The king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: The ſentence againſt Condé was annulled: The conſtable was recalled to court: And the family of Guiſe, though they ſtill enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoiſe to their authority.

ELIZABETH was determined to make advantage of theſe events againſt the queen of Scots, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as a dangerous rival. She ſaw herſelf freed from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and from the pretenſions of ſo powerful a prince as Francis; but ſhe conſidered, at the ſame time, that the Engliſh catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princeſs with more zealous attachment, when they ſaw, that her ſucceſſion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambaſſador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able miniſter, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But

though

though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

MEANWHILE, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications, which she had met with during Francis's life-time, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning into her native country. Lord James, who had been sent in deputation from the states to invite her over, seconded these intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for liberty to pass through England [s]: But she received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person, whom she had so much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his mistress in a demand, which he represented as so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him, "How weak I may prove, or how far a "woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: "However, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses "of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience "of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs "me so much, as the having asked, with so much im- "portunity, a favour which it was of no consequence "for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return "to my own country without *her* leave; as I came to "France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, "king Edward: Neither do I want friends both able and

[s] Goodall, vol. i. p. 175.

"willing

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

" willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me " hither; though I was desirous rather to make an ex- " periment of your mistress's friendship than of the assist- " ance of any other person. I have often heard you " say, that a good correspondence between her and my- " self would conduce much to the security and happi- " ness of both our kingdoms: Were she well convinced " of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so " small a request. But, perhaps, she bears a better in- " clination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their " sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near rela- " tion, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Be- " sides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands: I " neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs " of her state: Not that I am ignorant, that there are " now in England a great many malcontents, who are " no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased " to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the " world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. " However, I am already old enough to acquit myself " honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, " and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which " would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I " would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as " well as she, and not altogether friendless: And, per- " haps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we " should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. " As soon as I have consulted the states of my king- " dom, I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; " and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to " make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it " seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she " will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved " not to be satisfied; perhaps, on purpose to keep up " the disagreement between us. She has often reproach-

" ed

"ed me with my being young; and I must be very "young, indeed, and as ill advised, to treat of matters "of such great concern and importance, without the "advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting "in all friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or "overlooks them. I could heartily wish, that I was as "near allied to her in affection as in blood: For that, "indeed, would be a most valuable alliance [t]."

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

Such a spirited reply, notwithstanding the obliging terms interspersed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendship between these rival princesses, or cure those mutual jealousies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of pursuing pyrates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived safely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquess of Elbeuf, together with the marquess of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. Besides her natural prepossessions in favour of a country in which she had been educated from her earliest infancy, and where she had borne so high a rank, she could not forbear both regreting the society of that people, so celebrated for their humane disposition, and their respectful attachment to their sovereign, and reflecting on the disparity of the scene which lay before her. It is said, that, after she was embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkness fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that, if in the morning the land was still in sight, he

19th Aug. Arrival of Mary in Scotland.

[t] Caballa, p. 374. Spotswood, p. 177.

should

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1561.

ſhould awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country, in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, ſo that the ſhip made little way in the night-time: And Mary had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat up on her couch, and ſtill looking towards the land, often repeated theſe words: "Farewell, France, farewell; I "ſhall never ſee thee more [u]." The firſt aſpect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleaſure and happineſs, at leaſt to her repoſe and ſecurity, than ſhe had reaſon to apprehend. No ſooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the ſhore, with an earneſt impatience to behold and receive their young ſovereign. Some were led by duty, ſome by intereſt, ſome by curioſity; and all combined to expreſs their attachment to her, and to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence, on the commencement of her adminiſtration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her perſon were farther recommended by the affability of her addreſs, the politeneſs of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accompliſhed in all the ſuperficial, but engaging graces of a court, ſhe afforded, when better known, ſtill more promiſing indications of her character; and men prognoſticated both humanity from her ſoft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taſte in all the refined arts of muſic, eloquence, and poetry [w]. And as the Scots had long been deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, whom they once deſpaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but ſymptoms of affection, joy, and feſtivity.

[u] Keith, p. 179. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 483. [w] Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 9. Spotſwood, p. 178, 179. Keith, p. 180. Thuan. lib. xxix. c. 2.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

THE first measures which Mary embraced, confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favour. She followed the advice given her in France by D'Oisel and the bishop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greatest influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. Her brother, lord James, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, secretary of state, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. By the vigour of these men's measures she endeavoured to establish order and justice in a country, divided by public factions and private feuds; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, seemed, for a time, to submit peaceably to her gentle and prudent administration.

BUT there was one circumstance, which blasted all these promising appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour, which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and though she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel; and had not the people apprehended, that, if she had here met with a refusal, she would instantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that small indulgence. The cry was, "Shall "that idol be suffered again to be erected within the "realm?" It was asserted in the pulpit, that one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men landed to invade

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1561. invade the kingdom [x]: Lord Lindesey, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed, "That the idolater should die the death;" such was their expression. One that carried tapers for the ceremony of that worship, was attacked and insulted in the court of the palace. And if lord James, and some popular leaders, had not interposed, the most dangerous uproar was justly apprehended, from the ungoverned fury of the multitude [y]. The usual prayers in the churches were to this purpose: That God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against him and his truth; or if his holy will be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants [z]. Nay, it was openly called in question, whether that princess, being an idolatress, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters [a]?

THE helpless queen was every moment exposed to contumely, which she bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival she dined in the castle of Edinburgh; and it was there contrived, that a boy, six years of age, should be let down from the roof, and should present her with a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle. Lest she should be at a loss to understand this insult on her as a papist; all the decorations expressed the burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other punishments inflicted by God upon idolatry [b]. The town council of Edinburgh had the assurance, from their own authority, to issue a proclamation banishing from their district, "all "the wicked rabble of antichrist, the pope, such as "priests, monks, friars, together with adulterers and for-"nicators [c]." And because the privy-council suspended the magistrates for their insolence, the passionate histo-

x Knox, p. 287. y Ibid. p. 284, 285, 287. Spotswood, p. 179.
z Keith, p. 179. a Ibid. p. 202. b Ibid. p. 189.
c Ibid. p. 192.

rians

rians [d] of that age have inferred, that the queen was engaged, by a sympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable, that the magistrates were afterwards reinstated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed [e]. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

But all the insolence of the people was trifling in comparison of that which was exercised by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess. The assembly of the church framed an address, in which, after telling her, that her mass was a bastard service of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the source of every evil which abounded in the realm; they expressed their hopes, that she would, ere this time, have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they assured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They said, that the present abuses of government were so enormous, that, if a speedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail in his anger to strike the head and the tail, the disobedient prince and sinful people. They required, that severe punishment should be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded with demanding for themselves some addition both of power and property [f].

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox; who possessed an uncontrouled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezabel; and though she endeavoured, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favour, all her insinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promised him access to her whenever he demanded it; and she even

[d] Knox, p. 292. Buchan. lib. xvii. c. 20. Haynes, vol. i. p. 372.
[e] Keith, p. 202. [f] Knox, p. 311, 312.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1561.

desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people: But he plainly told her, that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church, she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for that occupation [g]. The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of sedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condescended so far as to tell the queen, that he would submit to her, in the same manner as Paul did to Nero [h]; he remained not long in this dutiful strain. He said to her, that "Samuel feared not to slay Agag, the "fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had "saved: Neither spared Elias Jezabel's false prophets, "and Baal's priests, though King Ahab was present. "Phineas," added he, "was no magistrate; and yet "feared he not to strike Cosbie and Zimri in the very "act of filthy fornication. And so, madam, your grace "may see, that others than chief magistrates may law-"fully inflict punishment on such crimes as are con-"demned by the law of God [i]." Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book against female succession to the crown: The title of it is, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women.* He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and his conduct shewed, that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female sex.

The whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow. This rustic apostle scruples not, in his history, to inform us, that he once treated her with such severity, that she lost all com-

[g] Knox, p. 310. [h] Ibid. p. 288. [i] Ibid. p. 326.

mand

mand of temper, and dissolved in tears before him: Yet so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs; and when he relates this incident, he discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct [k]. The pulpits had become mere scenes of railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant [l]. Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed, that such vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm [m]. CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

MARY, whose age, condition, and education invited her to liberty and chearfulness, was curbed in all amusements, by the absurd severity of these reformers; and she found every moment reason to regret her leaving that country, from whose manners she had in her early youth received the first impressions [n]. Her two uncles, the duke of Aumale, and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, soon took leave of her: The marquis of Elbeuf remained some time longer; but after his departure, she was left to the society of her own subjects; men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted, beyond their usual rusticity, by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to restore the ancient religion, her popery was a sufficient crime: Though her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and her manners sweet and engaging, her gaiety and ease were interpreted as signs of dissolute vanity. And to the harsh and pre-

[k] Knox, p. 332, 333. [l] Ibid. p. 322. [m] Ibid. p. 330.
[n] Ibid. p. 294.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

posterous usage, which this princess met with, may, in part, be ascribed those errors of her subsequent conduct, which seemed so little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

THERE happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure, which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her situation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and some other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a visit to a woman called Alison Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and because they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thrust open the door, and committed some disorders, in searching for the damsel. It happened, that the assembly of the church was sitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with several of the nobility, they presented an address to the queen, which was introduced with this awful prelude. "To the queen's "majesty, and to her secret and great council, her "grace's faithful and obedient subjects, the professors of "Christ Jesus's holy evangil, wish the spirit of righte-"ous judgment." The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings, denounced by God against every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the severe punishment of such as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God against the whole realm: That the iniquity, of which they complained, was so heinous and so horrible, that they should esteem themselves accomplices in it, if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or servile complaisance, to pass it over in silence, or bury it in oblivion: That as they owed her grace obedience in the administration of justice, so were they entitled to require

require of her, in return, the ſharp and condign puniſhment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom: And that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aſide all private affections towards the actors in ſo heinous a crime, and ſo enormous a villainy, and without delay bring them to a trial, and inflict the ſevereſt penalties upon them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory addreſs, but becauſe ſhe probably thought, that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not ſuch ſevere reprehenſion, ſhe only replied, that her uncle was a ſtranger, and that he was attended by a young company: But ſhe would put ſuch order to him and to all others, that her ſubjects ſhould henceforth have no reaſon to complain. Her paſſing over this incident ſo ſlightly was the ſource of great diſcontent, and was regarded as a proof of the moſt profligate manners [o]. It is not to be omitted, that Aliſon Craig, the cauſe of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without ſcruple, indulged in that enormity [p].

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her abſence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the moſt conſiderable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy ſacraments, he there ſaid, are abuſed by profane papiſts; the maſs has been ſaid; and in worſhipping that idol, the prieſts have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accurſed water, that had ever been practiſed in the time of the greateſt blindneſs. Theſe violent meaſures for oppoſing juſtice were little

[o] Knox, p. 302, 303, 304. Keith, p. 509. [p] Knox. Ibid.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

short of rebellion; and Knox was summoned before the council to answer for his offence. The courage of this man was equal to his insolence. He scrupled not to tell the queen, that the pestilent papists, who had inflamed her against these holy men, were the sons of the devil; and must therefore obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning. The matter ended with the full acquital of Knox [q]. Randolf, the English ambassador in Scotland at this time, had reason to write to Cecil, speaking of the Scottish nation: "I think marvelously of "the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, incon- "stant, and cumbersome people no more power nor "substance: For they would otherwise run wild [r]."

We have related these incidents at greater length, than the necessity of our subject may seem to require: But even trivial circumstances, which show the manners of the age, are often more instructive, as well as entertaining, than the great transactions of wars and negociations, which are nearly similar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

The reformed clergy in Scotland had, at that time, a very natural reason for their ill-humour, namely, the poverty or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at first laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any provision for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their possessions. The secular clergy of the catholic communion, though they lost all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, still held some of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themselves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themselves by the plunder of the church. The new

[q] Knox, p. 336, 342. [r] Keith, p. 202.

teachers

teachers had hitherto subsisted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious sentiments, this establishment was regarded as very scanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal settlement to the preachers; and though almost every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their request was at last complied with. The fanatical spirit which they indulged, and their industry in decrying the principles and practices of the Romish communion, which placed such merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very sensible obstacle to their acquisitions. The boundaries of the royal power were, during that age, more uncertain in Scotland than even in England; and the privy council alone thought themselves entitled, without a parliament, to regulate this important matter. They passed a vote [s], by which they divided all the ecclesiastical benefices into twenty-one parts: They assigned fourteen to the ancient possessors: Of the remaining seven, they granted three to the crown; and if that was found to answer the public expences, they bestowed the overplus on the reformed ministers. The queen was empowered to levy all the seven; and it was ordained, that she should afterwards pay to the clergy what should be judged to suffice for their maintenance. The necessities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the small affection which Mary bore to the protestant ecclesiastics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were necessitated to betake themselves to other expedients for supporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, morose manners, a vulgar and

[s] Knox, p. 296. Keith, p. 210.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

familiar, and yet myſterious cant; and though the liberality of ſubſequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in ſome degree thoſe bad habits; it muſt be confeſſed, that, while many other advantages attend preſbyterian government, theſe inconveniencies are not eaſily ſeparated from the genius of that eccleſiaſtical polity.

THE queen of Scots, deſtitute of all force, poſſeſſing a narrow revenue, ſurrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigotted people, and inſolent eccleſiaſtics, ſoon found, that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preſerve a good correſpondence with [t] Elizabeth, who, by former connexions and ſervices, had acquired ſuch authority over all theſe ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, ſecretary Lidington was ſent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and expreſs her deſire of friendſhip and a good correſpondence; and he received a commiſſion from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendſhip, that Mary ſhould, by act of parliament or by proclamation (for the difference between theſe ſecurities was not then deemed very conſiderable) be declared ſucceſſor to the crown. No requeſt could be more unreaſonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, that Mary had once diſcovered her intention not to wait for the ſucceſſion, but had openly, without ceremony or reſerve, aſſumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a ſuperior right to her throne and kingdom: That though her ambaſſadors, and thoſe of her huſband, the French king, had ſigned a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promiſed ſatisfaction for ſo great an indignity, ſhe was ſo intoxicated with this ima-

[t] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 456.

ginary

ginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest soli- CHAP. XXXVIII. citations, and even, as some endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: That her partizans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as spurious and illegitimate: That while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, it would in her be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: That no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was less intimate, and when such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and indeed was still continued, on the part of Mary: That though she was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous project against her: That it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompence from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: That she knew the inconstant nature of the people; she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant, that the same party, which expected greatest favour during the reign of Mary, 1561.

did

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1561.

did also imagine, that the title of that princess was superior to her own: That for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws or by right of blood, to the succession: That she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and considering the injury, which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it: And that Mary, if her title were really preferable, a point, which, for her own part, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful pretensions [u].

These views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: But that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession [w]; and in this form, she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to this issue, that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor [x]. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and who, though

[u] Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 14.——17. Camden, p. 385. Spotswood, p. 180, 181. [w] Ibid. p. 181. [x] Haynes, vol. i. p. 377.

she

she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.

THE queen observed, that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects; and instead of giving Scotland, for the present, any inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gun-powder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so much encreased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly stiled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas[y]. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her for these great enterprizes, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects

Wise government of Elizabeth.

[y] Camden, p. 383. Strype, vol. i. p. 230, 336, 337.

of

CHAP. XXXVIII.

of a vigorous perſeverance in judicious and well concerted projects.

1561. It is eaſy to imagine, that ſo great a princeſs, who enjoyed ſuch ſingular felicity and renown, would receive propoſals of marriage from every one, that had any likelihood of ſucceeding; and though ſhe had made ſome public declarations in favour of a ſingle life, few believed, that ſhe would perſevere for ever in that reſolution. The archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor [z], as well as Caſimir, ſon of the elector Palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince profeſſed the reformed religion, he thought himſelf, on that account, better entitled to ſucceed in his addreſſes. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holſtein, were encouraged by the ſame views to become ſuitors: And the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the ſtates of that kingdom, recommended to her as a ſuitable marriage. Even ſome of her own ſubjects, though they did not openly declare their pretenſions, entertained hopes of ſucceſs. The earl of Arundel, a perſon declining in years, but deſcended from an ancient and noble family, as well as poſſeſſed of great riches, flattered himſelf with this proſpect; as did alſo Sir William Pickering, a man much eſteemed for his perſonal merit. But the perſon moſt likely to ſucceed, was a younger ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to addreſs and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counſels. The leſs worthy he appeared of this diſtinction, the more was his great favour aſcribed to ſome violent affection, which could thus ſeduce the judgment of this penetrating princeſs; and men long

[z] Haynes, vol. i. p. 233.

expected,

expected, that he would obtain the preference above so many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought, that she should the better attach them to her interests, if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions. It is also probable, that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though she was determined in her own mind never to share her power with any man, she was not displeased with the courtship, solicitation, and professions of love, which the desire of acquiring so valuable a prize procured her from all quarters. 1561.

WHAT is most singular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth, is, that, though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor to the crown; but seems also to have resolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one, who had pretensions to the succession, should ever have any heirs or successors. If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland, was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the house of Suffolk; and the lady Catherine Gray, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, she had made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son of the protector; and her husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his misdemeanor. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's consent, was entirely suitable to both parties;

CHAP. XXXVIII.

parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here: She

1561. issued a commission to enquire into the mattter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a fresh source of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds be set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty [a]. This extreme severity must be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealousy of the queen, who was afraid that a pretender to the succession would acquire credit by having issue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy in others those natural pleasures of love and posterity, of which her own ambition and desire of dominion made her renounce all prospect for herself.

THERE happened, about this time, some other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and descended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Fortescue, who had married a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke

[a] Haynes, vol. i. p. 369, 378, 396. Camden, p. 389. Heylin, p. 154.

of

of Clarence. They confeſſed the indictment, but aſſert- CHAP. XXXVIII. 1561.
ed, that they never meant to execute theſe projects during the queen's life-time: They had only deemed ſuch precautions requiſite in caſe of her death, which, ſome pretenders to judicial aſtrology had aſſured them, they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but received a pardon from the queen's clemency [b].

[b] Strype, vol. i. p. 333. Heylin, p. 154.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*State of Europe —— Civil wars of France —— Havre de Grace put in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh —— A parliament —— Havre loſt —— Affairs of Scotland —— The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley —— Confederacy againſt the proteſtants —— Murder of Rizzio —— A parliament —— Murder of Darnley —— Queen of Scots marries Bothwel —— Inſurrections in Scotland —— Impriſonment of Mary —— Mary flies into England —— Conferences at York and Hampton Court.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

1562. State of Europe.

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flouriſhing kingdom, during the courſe of near forty years, a ſcene of horror and devaſtation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animoſity, firſt political, then perſonal, broke out between the ſovereigns of theſe countries.

PHILIP II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great induſtry and ſagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprizes, an unuſual foreſight in all his meaſures; and as he was ever cool and ſeemingly unmoved by paſſion, and poſſeſſed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his ſubjects and his neighbours had reaſon to expect juſtice, happineſs, and tranquillity, from his adminiſtration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever paſſion had on any other monarch; and the ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny, by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent max-

ims which governed his counsels, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combustion. CHAP. XXXIX. 1562.

After Philip had concluded peace at Cateau-Cambresis, and had remained some time in the Netherlands, in order to settle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and as the gravity of that nation, with their respectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humour, than the homely familiar manners, and the pertinacious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected, that he would for the future reside altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extensive dominions by Spanish ministers and Spanish counsels. Having met with a violent tempest on his voyage, he no sooner arrived in harbour, than he fell on his knees; and after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed, that his life, which was thus providentially saved, should thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of heresy[c]. His subsequent conduct corresponded to these professions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let loose the rage of persecution against all who professed them, or were suspected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge, even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whose arms that great monarch had terminated his life: And after this ecclesiastic died in confinement, he still ordered him to be tried and condemned for heresy, and his statue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated, whether he should not exercise like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his later years, to have indulged a pro-

[c] Thuanus, lib. xxiii. cap. 14.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1562. penſity towards the Lutheran principles: In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition: He was preſent, with an inflexible countenance, at the moſt barbarous executions: He iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics, in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: And having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his ſubjects, that there was no method, except the moſt entire compliance, or moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to eſcape or elude the ſeverity of his vengeance.

DURING that extreme animoſity, which prevailed between the adherents of the oppoſite religions, the civil magiſtrate, who found it difficult, if not impoſſible, for the ſame laws to govern ſuch enraged adverſaries, was naturally led, by ſpecious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war againſt the other, and to exterminate, by fire and ſword, thoſe bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an oppoſition of his power, and to a hatred of his perſon. If any prince poſſeſſed ſuch enlarged views as to foreſee, that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy, which, though certain, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by ſelf-intereſt, ſeems alſo to have been himſelf actuated by an imperious bigotry; and as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could eaſily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the colour of wiſdom, and find in this ſyſtem no leſs advantage to his foreign than his domeſtic politics. By placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partizans of Spaniſh greatneſs; and by

by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he seduced every where the subjects from that allegiance, which they owed their native sovereign. CHAP. XXXIX. 1562.

THE course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted protestants, throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government, as was exercised by that monarch; and having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negociations with those who were every where struggling under oppression, and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. The more virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause; and fortune, in this instance, concurred with policy and nature.

DURING the life-time of Henry II. of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by the motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England [d]; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded his friendship as hollow and precarious [e]. But no sooner did the death of Francis II.

[d] Digges's Complete Ambassador, p. 369. Haynes, p. 585. Strype, vol. iv. No 246. [e] Haynes, vol. i. p. 280, 281, 283, 284.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1562.

put an end to Philip's apprehenſions with regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his animoſity againſt Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the intereſts of Spain and England were found oppoſite in every negociation and tranſaction.

THE two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being poſſeſſed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagoniſts; and England, from its power and ſituation, was intitled to ſupport its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depreſs one of theſe rival powers, as it left the other without controul, might be deemed contrary to the intereſts of England: Yet ſo much were theſe great maxims of policy over-ruled, during that age, by the diſputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

Civil wars of France.

The queen-regent of France, when reinſtated in authority by the death of her ſon, Francis, had formed a plan of adminiſtration more ſubtle than judicious; and balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guiſe with the prince of Condé, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience[f]. But the equal counterpoiſe of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, proves always the ground of quarrel between domeſtic factions; and if the animoſity of religion concur with the frequent occaſions, which preſent themſelves, of mutual injury, it is impoſſible, during any time, to preſerve a firm concord in ſo delicate a ſituation. The conſtable, Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe: The king of Navarre, from his inconſtant tem-

[f] Davila, lib. ii.

per,

per, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party: And Catherine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection [g]. An edict had been published, granting a toleration to the protestants; but the interested violence of the duke of Guise, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Condé, Coligni, Andelot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France [h]: Each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valour [i]. Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire: Where success attended the catholics, they burned the Bibles, re-baptized the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the ceremony: And plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itself, the seat of law and justice, instead of employing its authority to compose these fatal quarrels, published an edict, by which it put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to massacre the hugonots [k]: And it was du-

CHAP. XXXIX. 1562.

[g] Davila, lib. iii. [h] Father Paul, lib. vii. [i] Ibid.
[k] Ibid. Haynes, p. 391.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1562.

ring this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

PHILIP, jealous of the progress which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with some supply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to dispatch the Vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth. Most of the province of Normandy was possessed by the hugonots: And Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English; on condition, that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns [1].

Havre de Grace put in possession of the English.

ELIZABETH, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this proposal. When she concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambresis, she had good reason to foresee, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article, which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. Considerable sums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leases had

20th Sept.

[1] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 48.

been

CHAP. XXXIX. 1562.

been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais should never be restored to the English [m]. The queen, therefore, wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre, a place, which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more generally odious in France, than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally chased the English from France, and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into it, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entry into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned [n]. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the constable Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry [o], and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege; the catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwic, eldest son of the late duke of North-

[m] Forbes, p. 54, 257. [n] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 199. [o] Ibid. p. 161.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1562.

umberland, arrived ſoon after at Havre, with another body of three thouſand Engliſh, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected, that the French catholics, flushed with their ſucceſs at Rouen, would immediately have formed the ſiege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom ſoon diverted their attention to another enterprize. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable body of proteſtants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the ſeat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris during ſome time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themſelves by the farther aſſiſtance, which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth [p]. The catholics, commanded by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, followed on their rear; and overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides: And the action was diſtinguiſhed by this ſignal event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, remained both of them priſoners in the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guiſe; but the admiral, whoſe fate it ever was to be defeated, and ſtill to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inſpiring his own unconquerable courage and conſtancy into every breaſt, kept them in a body, and ſubdued ſome conſiderable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to ſupport his cauſe, ſent him a new ſupply of an hundred thouſand crowns; and offered, if

[p] Forbes, p. 320. Davila, lib. iii.

he

he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount [q]. CHAP. XXXIX.

THE expences, incurred by assisting the French hugonots, had emptied the queen's exchequer; and in order to obtain supply, she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament: An expedient, to which she never voluntarily had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly, she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty, which, in case of her decease, attended the succession of the crown. The partizans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw, that, though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom, they promised, whoever he was, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey: Or if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired, that the lawful successor might be named, or at least appointed by act of parliament. They remarked, that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never before been so unhappy, as not to know the person, who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally 1563. January 12. A parliament.

[q] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 322, 347.

entitled

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563. entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they obſerved, that the certain and fixed order, which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief ſource of the uſual tranquillity, as well as of the happineſs, of that kingdom[r].

THIS ſubject, though extremely intereſting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and ſhe was ſenſible, that great difficulties would attend every deciſion. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a ſettlement perfectly legal; becauſe that princeſs was commonly allowed to poſſeſs the right of blood; and the excluſion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would loſe all authority, whenever the queen and parliament had made a new ſettlement, and reſtored the Scottiſh line to its place in the ſucceſſion. But ſhe dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her ſecret enemies, by this declaration. She was ſenſible that every heir was, in ſome degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, theſe dangerous pretenſions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connections with the houſe of Guiſe, not to mention the force and ſituation of Scotland, was well known to her; and ſhe ſaw no ſecurity, that this princeſs, if fortified by a ſure proſpect of ſucceſſion, would not revive claims, which ſhe could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquiſh. On the other hand, the title of the houſe of Suffolk was ſupported by the more zealous proteſtants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would beſtow on it ſuch validity as to give ſatisfaction to the people. The republican part of the conſtitution had not as yet acquired ſuch an aſcen-

[r] Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journ. p. 81.

dant

dant as to controul, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was ſtill diſputed, though founded on the utmoſt authority which a parliament could beſtow; who could be aſſured, that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have any greater force or validity? In the frequent revolutions, which had of late taken place, the right of blood had ſtill prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever ſhewed itſelf diſpoſed rather to change its faith than the order of ſucceſſion. Even many proteſtants declared themſelves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance [s]; and nothing would occaſion more general diſguſt, than to ſee the queen, openly and without reſerve, take part againſt it. The Scottiſh princeſs alſo, finding herſelf injured in ſo ſenſible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and uniting together her foreign and domeſtic friends, the partizans of her preſent title and of her eventual ſucceſſion, would ſoon bring matters to extremity againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. The queen, weighing all theſe inconveniencies, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining ſtill an ambiguous conduct; and ſhe rather choſe, that the people ſhould run the hazard of contingent events, than that ſhe herſelf ſhould viſibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which at beſt, would not beſtow entire ſecurity on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evaſive anſwer to the applications of the commons; and when the houſe, at the end of the ſeſſions, deſired, by the mouth of their ſpeaker, farther ſatisfaction on that head, ſhe could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicite. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe had fixed no abſolute reſolution againſt marriage; and ſhe added, that the difficulties, attending the queſtion

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

[s] Keith, p. 322.

of

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

of the succession, were so great, that she would be contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security [t].

THE most remarkable law passed this session was that which bore the title of *Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions* [u]. By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also, all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament: And the penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; because it was not supposed, that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of persons possessed of such high dignity. The lord Montacute made vigorous opposition to the bill; and asserted in favour of the catholics, that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people [w]. It is, however, probable, that some suspicions of their secret conspiracies had made the queen and parliament encrease their rigour against them; though it is also more than probable, that they were mistaken in the nature of the remedy.

THERE was likewise another point, in which the parliament, this session, shewed more the goodness of their intention than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which

[t] Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journal, p. 75.
[u] 5 Eliz. c. 1.
[w] Strype, vol. i. p. 260.

had

had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder [x]: But at the same time they enacted a statute, which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: It was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft [y]. Witchcraft and heresy are two crimes, which commonly encrease by punishment, and never are so effectually suppressed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years. CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

WHILE the English parties exerted these calm efforts against each other, in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, enflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy, which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garrison of Havre remained totally unactive, and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. The queen, in taking possession of that place, had published a manifesto [z], in which she pretended, that her concern for the interests of the French king had engaged her in that measure, and that her sole intention was to oppose her enemies of the house of Guise, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the destruction of his best and most faithful subjects. It was chiefly her desire to preserve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her soldiers in garrison, and restrain them from committing farther ho-

[x] 5 Eliz. c. 15. [y] Ibid. c. 16. [z] Forbes, vol. ii.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1563.

ſtilities upon the enemy[a]. The duke of Guiſe, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the ſiege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the conſtable was detained priſoner. He had the proſpect of ſpeedy ſucceſs in this undertaking; when he was aſſaſſinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whoſe zeal, inſtigated (as it is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprize. The death of this gallant prince was a ſenſible loſs to the catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, ſtill ſupported the intereſts of the family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French proteſtants. The union, therefore, between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be leſs intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were perſuaded to hearken to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for ſettling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themſelves from captivity, they ſoon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whoſe ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by ſubtilty and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plauſible terms; and in ſpite of the proteſtations of the admiral, whoſe ſagacity could eaſily diſcover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally ſettled between the parties. A toleration, under ſome reſtrictions, was anew granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed; Condé was reinſtated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment

[a] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 276, 277.

of arrears due to the German troops, they were dismissed the kingdom. CHAP. XXXIX.

1563.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated [b], that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre, her charges and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for obtaining her purpose, she sent Warwic orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwic, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, beside seven hundred pioniers, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence [c]; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprize; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious still to preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

From the force, and dispositions, and situation of both sides, it was expected, that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a

[b] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 79. [c] Ibid. p. 158.

much

CHAP. XXXIX.

1563. much easier acquisition of this important place, than was at first apprehended. The plague creeped in among the English soldiers; and being encreased by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill supplied with provisions [d]) it made such ravages, that sometimes a hundred men a-day died of it, and there remained not at last fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty [e]. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison [f]. Warwic, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men; and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To encrease the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons, there, died of it in one year [g].

Havre lost. 28th July.

ELIZABETH, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the hugonots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England [h]. It was agreed, that the hostages, which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for 220,000

2d April.

[d] Forbes, vol. ii. p. 377, 498. [e] Ibid. p. 450, 458.
[f] Ibid. p. 498. [g] See note [F] at the end of the volume.
[h] Davila, lib. 3.

crowns;

crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

1563. Scotch affairs.

THE peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Hales, who had published a book against Mary's title [i]; and as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and recover her favour [k]. The two queens had agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York [l]; in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of the proper method for settling the succession of England: But as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate subject, she employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, she said, would detain her in London; and she delayed till next year the intended interview. It is also probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty and address and accomplishments of Mary, she did not chuse to stand the comparison with regard to those exterior qualities, in which she was eclipsed by her rival; and was unwilling, that a princess, who had already made great progress in the esteem and affections of the English, should have a farther opportunity of encreasing the number of her partizans.

MARY's close connections with the house of Guise, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom she had been early educated and constantly protected, was the ground of just and unsurmountable jealousy to Eli-

[i] Keith, p. 252. [k] Ibid. p. 253. [l] Haynes, p. 388.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

zabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's ſon; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily be freed by a diſpenſation; and they were ready to marry her to any one, who could ſtrengthen their intereſts, or give inquietude and diſturbance to Elizabeth [m]. Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their ſchemes, and was particularly anxious, leſt Mary ſhould form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the ſide where it was weakeſt and lay moſt expoſed [n]. As ſhe believed, that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one moſt likely to have place, ſhe uſed every expedient to prevent it; and beſides remonſtrating againſt it to Mary herſelf, ſhe endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that purſuit, by giving him ſome hopes of ſucceſs in his pretenſions to herſelf, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage [o]. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealouſy, and cement the union between the two kingdoms; and ſhe offered on this condition to have her title examined, and to declare her ſucceſſor to the crown [p]. After keeping the matter in theſe general terms during a twelvemonth, ſhe at laſt named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leiceſter, as the perſon on whom ſhe deſired that Mary's choice ſhould fall.

[m] Forbes, vol. ii, p. 287. Strype, vol. i. p. 400. [n] Keith, p. 247, 284. [o] Melvil, p. 43. [p] Keith, p. 243, 249, 259, 265.

THE

THE earl of Leiceſter, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, poſſeſſed all thoſe exterior qualities, which are naturally alluring to the fair ſex; a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, an inſinuating behaviour; and by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, inſolent, intereſted, ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity; and attoned not for theſe bad qualities, by ſuch abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high truſt and confidence, with which ſhe always honoured him. Her conſtant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aſpire to her bed; and in order to make way for theſe nuptials, he was univerſally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heireſs of one Robeſart. The propoſal of eſpouſing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always aſcribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who intended by that artifice to make him loſe the friendſhip of Mary from the temerity of his pretenſions, and that of Elizabeth from jealouſy of his attachments to another woman [q]. The queen herſelf had not any ſerious intention of effecting this marriage; but as ſhe was deſirous, that the queen of Scots ſhould never have any huſband, ſhe named a man, who, ſhe believed, was not likely to be accepted; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leiceſter was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, ſeemed at laſt to hearken to Elizabeth's propoſal, this princeſs receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait, which

1563.

[q] Camden, p. 396.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

she had formerly thrown out to her rival [r]. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seemingly amicable correspondence between the two queens was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up this breach, the queen of Scots dispatched Sir James Melvil to London; who has given us a particular account of his negotiation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of address and conversation; and it was recommended to him by his mistress, that, besides grave reasonings concerning politics and state-affairs, he should introduce more entertaining topics of conversation, suitable to the sprightly character of Elizabeth; and should endeavour by that means to insinuate himself into her confidence. He succeeded so well, that he threw that artful princess entirely off her guard [s], and made her discover the bottom of her heart, full of all those levities and follies and ideas of rivalship, which possess the youngest and most frivolous of her sex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in setting off the beauties of the shape and person. The queen said, that she had dresses of all countries; and she took care thenceforth to meet the ambassador every day apparelled in a different habit: Sometimes she was dressed in the English garb, sometimes in the French, sometimes in the Italian; and she asked him, which of them became her most? He answered, the Italian; a reply, that, he knew, would be agreeable to her, because that mode showed to advantage her flowing locks, which, he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, she

[r] Keith, p. 269, 270. Appendix, p. 158. Strype, vol. i. p. 414.

[s] 417.

fancied

fancied to be the fineſt in the world. She deſired to know of him what was reputed the beſt colour of hair: She aſked whether his queen or ſhe had the fineſt hair: She even enquired which of them he eſteemed the faireſt perſon: A very delicate queſtion, and which he prudently eluded, by ſaying that her majeſty was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was talleſt: He replied, his queen: Then is ſhe too tall, ſaid Elizabeth: For I myſelf am of a juſt ſtature. Having learned from him, that his miſtreſs ſometimes recreated herſelf by playing on the harpſicord, an inſtrument on which ſhe herſelf excelled, ſhe gave orders to lord Hunſdon, that he ſhould lead the ambaſſador, as it were caſually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if raviſhed with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, ſhe pretended to be diſpleaſed with his intruſion; but ſtill took care to aſk him whether he thought Mary or her the beſt performer on that inſtrument [t]. From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, aſſure his miſtreſs, that ſhe had no reaſon ever to expect any cordial friendſhip from Elizabeth, and that all her profeſſions of amity were full of falſehood and diſſimulation. CHAP. XXXIX. 1564.

AFTER two years had been ſpent in evaſions and artifices [u], Mary's ſubjects and counſellors, and probably herſelf, began to think it full time, that ſome marriage were concluded, and lord Darnley, ſon of the earl of Lenox, was the perſon, in whom moſt men's opinions and wiſhes centered. He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Harry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had conſtantly reſided, ſince he

[t] Melvil, p. 49, 50. [u] Keith, p. 264.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1564. had been baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton: And as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely perſon, tall and delicately ſhaped, it was hoped, that he might ſoon render himſelf agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was alſo by his father a branch of the ſame family with herſelf; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart: He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It ſeemed no inconſiderable advantage, that ſhe could, by marrying him, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Engliſhman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped, that the propoſal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princeſs.

ELIZABETH was well informed of theſe intentions [w]; and was ſecretly not diſpleaſed with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots [x]. She would rather have wiſhed, that Mary had continued for ever in a ſingle life: But finding little probability of rendering this ſcheme effectual, ſhe was ſatisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of parting with Leiceſter, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, ſhe ſecretly deſired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverſe his attainder, and to reſtore him to his honours and fortune [y]. And when her requeſt was complied with, ſhe took care, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of the Hamiltons and her other partizans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary [z]. Hearing that the negotiation for Darnley's

[w] Keith, p. 261.
[x] Ibid. p. 280, 282. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 46.
[y] Keith, p. 255, 259, 272.
[z] Melvil, p. 42.

marriage

marriage proceeded apace, she gave that nobleman permission, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland: But no sooner did she learn, that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and person, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and, though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure [a], she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury in the world. CHAP. XXXIX. 1564. 28th July.

The politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were usually full of duplicity and artifice: but never more so than in her transactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered so many little passions and narrow jealousies, that she durst not avow to the world the reasons of her conduct, scarcely to her ministers, and scarcely even to herself. But besides a womanish rivalship and envy against the marriage of this princess, she had some motives of interest for feigning a displeasure on the present occasion. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England; a point to which she was determined never to consent. And it was useful to her for a purpose, still more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics [b].

Nothing can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a sovereign, attached to a religion different from the established; and it is scarcely possible, that mutual confidence can ever, in such a situation,

[a] Keith, p. 274, 275. [b] Ibid. p. 290.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565.

have place between the prince and his ſubjects. Mary's conduct had been hitherto, in every reſpect, unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had ſhe not made ſuch progreſs in acquiring popularity, as might have been expected from her gracious deportment and agreeable accompliſhments. Suſpicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the catholic faith, and eſpecially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the ſcheme for exterminating the profeſſors of the reformed religion throughout all Europe. She ſtill refuſed to ratify the acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed the reformation; ſhe made attempts for reſtoring to the catholic biſhops ſome part of their civil juriſdiction [c]; and ſhe wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, beſides profeſſing her attachment to the catholic faith, ſhe took notice of her title to ſucceed to the crown of England, and expreſſed her hopes of being able, in ſome period, to bring back all her dominions to the boſom of the church [d]. The zealots among the proteſtants were not wanting, in their turn, to exerciſe their inſolence upon her, which tended ſtill more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very firſt offence, to ſay maſs any where, except in the queen's chapel [e]; and it was with great difficulty that even this ſmall indulgence was granted her: The general aſſembly importuned her anew to change her religion; to renounce the blaſphemous idolatry of the maſs, with the tyranny of the Roman Antichriſt; and to embrace the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus [f]. As ſhe anſwered with temper, that ſhe was not yet convinced of the falſehood of her religion or the impiety of the maſs; and that her apoſtacy would loſe her the friendſhip of her allies on the continent; they replied,

[c] Spotſwood, p. 198. [d] Father Paul, lib. vii. [e] Keith, p. 268. [f] Ibid. p. 545. Knox, p. 374.

by

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565.

by assuring her, that their religion was undoubtedly the same which had been revealed by Jesus Christ, which had been preached by the apostles, and which had been embraced by the faithful in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor Papists was built on so solid a foundation as theirs; that they alone, of all the various species of religionists, spread over the face of the earth, were so happy as to be possessed of the truth; that those who hear, or rather who gaze on the mass, allow sacrilege, pronounce blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry; and that the friendship of the King of Kings was preferable to all the confederacies and alliances in the world [g].

The queen of Scots marries the earl of Darnley.

The marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afresh the zeal of the reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the established church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. They rather laid hold of this opportunity to insult him to his face; and Knox scrupled not to tell him from the pulpit, that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women [h]. The populace of Edinburgh, instigated by such doctrines, began to meet and to associate themselves against the government [i]. But what threatened with more immediate danger Mary's authority, were the discontents which prevailed among some of the principal nobility.

The duke of Chatelrault was displeased with the restoration, and still more with the aggrandizement of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears lest his eventual succession to the crown of Scotland should be excluded by his rival, who had for-

g Keith, p. 550, 551. h Ibid. p. 546. Knox, p. 381.
i Knox, p. 377.

merly

CHAP. XXXIX.

1565.

merly advanced some pretensions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminished by the interest of Lenox, and his son; and began to apprehend the revocation of some considerable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were instigated by like motives; and as these were the persons who had most zealously promoted the reformation, they were disgusted to find, that the queen's favour was entirely ingrossed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athole, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were esteemed either lukewarm in religious controversy, or inclined to the catholic party. The same ground of discontent, which, in other courts, is the source of intrigue, faction, and opposition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of assassination, or of rebellion; and besides mutual accusations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up [k], the malcontent lords, as soon as they saw the queen's marriage entirely resolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms against their sovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the security of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for assistance and protection [l]. That princess, after publishing the expressions of her displeasure against the marriage, had secretly ordered her ambassadors Randolf and Throgmorton, to give in her name some promises of support to the malcontents; and had even sent them a supply of ten thousand pounds, to enable them to begin an insurrection [m].

MARY was no sooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than she sum-

[k] See note [G] at the end of the volume. [l] Keith, p. 293, 294, 300, 301. [m] Knox, p. 380. Keith, Append. p. 164. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 194.

moned

moned them to appear at court, in order to answer for their conduct; and having levied some forces to execute the laws, she obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take shelter in Argyleshire. That she might more effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paisly in the neighbourhood with about a thousand horse; and passing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, and thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the seditious preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enlist, and receive wages for the defence of God's glory [n]. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved: Her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: And the interested views of the malcontent lords were so well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace [o]. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: The rebels were obliged to retire into the south; and being pursued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thousand men [p], they found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565.

Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connections with the Scottish malcontents, and to declare every where, that she had never given them any encouragement, nor any promise of countenance or assistance. She even carried farther her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault; and she seduced them, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the

[n] Knox, p. 381. [o] Ibid. p. 380, 385. [p] Ibid. p. 388.

ambassadors

CHAP. XXXIX. 1565.

ambaſſadors of France and Spain, that ſhe had nowiſe contributed to their inſurrection. No ſooner had ſhe extorted this confeſſion from them, than ſhe chaſed them from her preſence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their deteſtable rebellion was of bad example to all princes, and aſſured them, that, as ſhe had hitherto given them no encouragement, ſo ſhould they never thenceforth receive from her any aſſiſtance or protection [q]. Throgmorton alone, whoſe honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part, which he had acted in the enterpriſe of the Scottiſh rebels; and being well appriſed of the uſual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorize the engagements, which he had been obliged to take with them [r].

THE baniſhed lords, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and after ſome ſolicitation and ſome profeſſions of ſincere repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon, on condition that he ſhould retire into France. Mary was more implacable againſt the ungrateful earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom ſhe threw the chief blame of the enterprize; but as ſhe was continually plied with applications from their friends, and as ſome of her moſt judicious partizans in England thought, that nothing would more promote her intereſts in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men ſo celebrated for their zeal againſt the catholic religion; ſhe agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to ſeverity, and ſhe ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour [s]. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambaſſador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lor-

[q] Melvil, p. 57. Knox, p. 388. Keith, p. 319. Crawford, p. 62, 63.
[r] Melvil, p. 60. [s] Ibid. p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Keith, p. 322.

raine,

raine, to whose opinion she always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon these protestant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion against her [t]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1563.

The two religions, in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their mutual violences; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreseen by admiral Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where she was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these two splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the protestants by fire and sword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the hugonots [u]. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forego this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics; and she proposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation, which she called address, to lead the protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword, till they were totally disabled from resistance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to

[t] Keith, p. 325. Melvil, p. 63. [u] Davila, lib. iii.

CHAP. XXXIX.

that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous association againſt the reformers; and having connected his hopes of ſucceſs with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care, that her meaſures ſhould correſpond to thoſe violent counſels, which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In conſequence of this ſcheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which ſhe intended to have followed; and made her reſolve on the total ruin of the baniſhed lords [w]. A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but ſentence would be pronounced againſt them. It was by a ſudden and violent incident, which, in the iſſue, brought on the ruin of Mary herſelf, that they were ſaved from the rigour of the law.

1565. Confederacy againſt the proteſtants.

1566.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was ſo natural, and ſo inviting in all its circumſtances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princeſs and her council; and while ſhe was allured by his youth, and beauty, and exterior accompliſhments, ſhe had at firſt overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowiſe correſponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his enterprizes; inſolent, yet credulous and eaſily governed by flatterers; he was devoid of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, he was equally incapable of all true ſentiments of love and tenderneſs [x]. The queen of Scots, in the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure: She had granted him the title of king; ſhe had joined his name with her own in all public acts; ſhe intended to have procured him

[w] Melvil, p. 63. Keith's Append. p. 176. [x] Keith, p. 287, 329. Append. p. 163.

from

from the parliament a matrimonial crown: But having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and vices, ſhe began to ſee the danger of her profuſe liberality, and was reſolved thenceforth to proceed with more reſerve in the truſt, which ſhe ſhould confer upon him. His reſentment againſt this prudent conduct ſerved but the more to encreaſe her diſguſt; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance againſt every one whom he eſteemed the cauſe of this change in her meaſures and behaviour. CHAP. XXXIX. 1566.

THERE was in the court, one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmonteſe, of mean birth, ſon of a teacher of muſic, himſelf a muſician; and finding it difficult to ſubſiſt by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambaſſador, whom the duke of Savoy ſent thither to pay his compliments to Mary, ſome time after her firſt arrival. He poſſeſſed a good ear, and a tolerable voice; and as that princeſs found him uſeful to complete her band of muſic, ſhe retained him in her ſervice after the departure of his maſter. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having, ſome time after, incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her perſon, and inſinuating himſelf into her favour. He was ſhrewd and ſenſible, as well as aſpiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made ſo good uſe of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded as the chief confident and even miniſter of the queen. He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion; all ſuitors were obliged to gain him by preſents and flattery; and the man, inſolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquiſitions, ſoon drew on himſelf the hatred of the nobi- Murder of Rizzio.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1566.

lity and of the whole kingdom [y]. He had at first employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage; and a firm friendship seemed to be established between them: But on the subsequent change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Henry's friends to persuade him, that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouze in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth [z]; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable, if not absurd, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness, with which she honoured him. The rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to spread this opinion among the people; and as Rizzio was universally believed to be a pensionary of the pope, and to be deeply engaged in all schemes against the protestants, any story, to his and Mary's disadvantage, received an easy credit among the zealots of that communion.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and retainers. A scheme was also thought to be formed for revoking some exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility, who had seized the ecclesiastical benefices, began to think themselves less secure in the possession of them [a]. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all these considerations, and still more by a rumour spread abroad, that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place,

[y] Keith, p. 282, 302. Crawford's Memoirs. p. 5. Spotswood, p. 193. Melvil, p. 64.

[z] See note [H] at the end of the volume.

[a] Keith, p. 326.

and

and to bestow that dignity on a mean and upstart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country [b]. So indiscreet had this princess been in her kindness to Rizzio, that even that strange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, insinuating himself into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him, that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured, was to bring the base stranger to that fate, which he had so well merited, and which was so passionately desired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, concurred in the same advice; and the lords Ruthven and Lindesey, being consulted, offered their assistance in the enterprize; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averse to the design [c]. But as these conspirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to sign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, and promised to protect them against every consequence, which might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio [d]. All these measures being concerted, a messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1566.

THIS design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private, and had at table the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, with Rizzio, and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: Lord 9th March.

[b] Buchanan, lib. xvii. c. 60. Crawford, p. 6. Spotswood, p. 194. Knox, p. 393. Jebb, vol. i. p. 456.
[c] Crawford, p. 7.
[d] Goodall, vol. i. p. 266. Crawford, p. 7.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1566.

Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, being all armed, ruſhed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They told her, that they intended no violence againſt her perſon; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his miſtreſs, and ſeizing her by the waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient aſſaſſins, regardleſs of her efforts, ruſhed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing which ſtood in their way, encreaſed the horror and confuſion of the ſcene. Douglas, ſeizing Henry's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds [e]. The unhappy princeſs, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and ſaid, She would weep no more; ſhe would now think of revenge. The inſult, indeed, upon her perſon; the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries ſo atrocious, and ſo complicated, that they ſcarcely left room for pardon, even from the greateſt lenity and mercy.

THE aſſaſſins, apprehenſive of Mary's reſentment, detained her priſoner in the palace; and the king diſmiſſed all who ſeemed willing to attempt her reſcue, by telling them, that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's ſafety. Murray and the baniſhed lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whoſe anger was now engroſſed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and ſhe even received her brother with tenderneſs and affec-

[e] Melvil, p. 64. Keith, p. 330, 331. Crawford, p. 9.

tion.

tion. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were re-inſtated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices alſo in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but ſhe artfully delayed compliance, and perſuaded them, that ſo long as ſhe was detained in cuſtody, and was ſurrounded by guards, any deed, which ſhe ſhould ſign, would have no force or validity. Meanwhile, ſhe had gained the confidence of her huſband, by her perſuaſion and careſſes; and no ſooner were the guards withdrawn, than ſhe engaged him to eſcape with her in the night time, and take ſhelter in Dunbar. Many of her ſubjects here offered her their ſervices; and Mary, having collected an army, which the conſpirators had no power to reſiſt, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. They made applications however to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, deſirous of ſtrengthening his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, was able to pacify her reſentment; and he ſoon after procured them liberty to return into their own country [f].

CHAP. XXXIX. 1566.

THE vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable againſt her huſband alone, whoſe perſon was before diſagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her higheſt reſentment. She engaged him to diſown all connections with the aſſaſſins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publiſh a proclamation containing a falſehood ſo notorious to the whole world [g]; and having thus made him expoſe himſelf to univerſal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, ſhe threw him off with diſdain and

[f] Melvil, p. 75, 76. Keith, p. 334. Knox, p. 398.
[g] Goodall, vol. i. p. 280. Keith Append. p. 167.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1566.

indignation [h]. As if she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Marre's; and when Henry followed her thither, she returned suddenly to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the strongest proofs of displeasure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased, that his mean equipage and small train of attendants should draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which

19th June.

Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son; and as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, she immediately dispatched Sir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princess, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was displaying all that spirit and alacrity, which usually attended her on these occasions: But when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: She sunk into melancholy; she reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haste he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister [i]. Some time after, she dispatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinsman George Cary, son of lord Hunsdon, in order to officiate at the baptism of the young prince; and she sent by them some magnificent presents to the queen of Scots.

[h] Melvil, p. 66, 67.

[i] Ibid. p. 69, 70.

THE

CHAP. XXXIX.

1566.

THE birth of a ſon gave additional zeal to Mary's partizans in England [k]; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliament, held after ſix prorogations. The houſe of peers, which had hitherto forborne to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the houſe of commons ſoon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower houſe, and propoſed that the queſtion of the ſucceſſion and that of ſupply ſhould go hand in hand; as if it were intended to conſtrain the queen to a compliance with the requeſt of her parliament [l]. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the houſe, that he had heard the queen poſitively affirm, that, for the good of her people, ſhe was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys gave their teſtimony to the ſame purpoſe; as did alſo Sir Ambroſe Cave, chancellor of the dutchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the houſehold [m]. Elizabeth's ambitious and maſculine character was ſo well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was conſidered merely as an artifice, by which ſhe endeavoured to retract that poſitive affirmation, which ſhe had made in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe meant to live and die a virgin. The miniſters, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy, than only to engage the houſe, for the ſake of decency, to join the queſtion of the queen's marriage with that of a ſettlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earneſtneſs in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when expreſs orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in that matter. Cecil

30th Sept. A parliament.

k Camden, p. 397.

l D'Ewes, p. 129.

m Ibid. p. 124.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1566.

told them, that she pledged to the house the word of a queen for her sincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a successor would be attended with great danger to her person; that she herself had had experience, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men were commonly disposed to make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that she was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the decision of that important question [n]. The house was not satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command, prohibiting them all debate on that subject. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house [o]. Some even ventured to violate that profound respect, which had hitherto been preserved to the queen; and they affirmed that she was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her own life, but also to pay regard to their future security, by fixing a successor; that, by a contrary conduct, she showed herself the stepmother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem desirous, that England should no longer subsist than she should enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever stood in fear of their successors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every sovereign, who, laying aside all artifice or bye-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his sole trust in that honourable and sure defence [p]. The queen, hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, she bade him inform the house, that, if

[n] D'Ewes, p. 127, 128.
[o] Ibid. p. 128.
[p] Camden, p. 400.

any

any member remained ſtill unſatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reaſons [q]. As the members ſhowed a diſpoſition, notwithſtanding theſe peremptory orders, ſtill to proceed upon the queſtion, Elizabeth thought proper, by a meſſage, to revoke them, and to allow the houſe liberty of debate [r]. They were ſo mollified by this gracious condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmneſs and temper; and they even voted her a ſupply, to be levied at three payments, of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen ſoon after diſſolved the parliament, and told them, with ſome ſharpneſs in the concluſion, that their proceedings had contained much diſſimulation and artifice; that under the plauſible pretences of marriage and ſucceſſion, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, ſhe reaped this advantage from the attempts of theſe men, that ſhe could now diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies. "But do you think," added ſhe, "that "I am unmindful of your future ſecurity, or will be "negligent in ſettling the ſucceſſion? That is the chief "object of my concern; as I know myſelf to be liable "to mortality. Or do you apprehend, that I meant to "encroach on your liberties? No: It was never my "meaning; I only intended to ſtop you before you ap"proached the precipice. All things have their time; "and though you may be bleſſed with a ſovereign more "wiſe or more learned than I, yet I aſſure you, that no "one will ever rule over you, who ſhall be more careful "of your ſafety. And therefore, henceforward, whether "I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no, or whoever holds "the reins of government, let me warn you to beware "of provoking your ſovereign's patience, ſo far as you "have done mine. But I ſhall now conclude, that,

CHAP. XXXIX.

1566.

2d January. 1567.

[q] D'Ewes, p. 128.

[r] Ibid. p. 130.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

"notwithstanding the disgusts I have received (for I "mean not to part with you in anger) the greatest part "of you may assure themselves that they go home in "their prince's good graces [s]."

ELIZABETH carried farther her dignity on this occasion. She had received the subsidy without any condition; but as it was believed, that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requests, she thought proper, on her refusal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and she said, that money in her subjects' purses was as good to her as in her own exchequer [t].

BUT though the queen was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and besides the catholics, many of whom kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command [u], the court itself of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partizans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. None but the more zealous protestants adhered either to the countess of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor, Countess of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former seemed liable to some objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that side, with the prospect of new disputes concerning the succession. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect [w]; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudences, into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience.

[s] D'Ewes, p. 116, 117.
[t] Camden, p. 400.
[u] Haynes, p. 446, 448.
[w] Melvil, p. 53, 61, 74.

But

But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, shall I say, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and ruin. CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

THE earl of Bothwel was of a considerable family and power in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party, which opposed the greatness of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts, and even reduced himself to beggary, by his profuse expences [x]; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate counsels and enterprizes. He had been accused more than once of an attempt to assassinate Murray; and though the frequency of these accusations on all sides diminish somewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove sufficiently the prevalence of that detestable practice in Scotland, and may in that view serve to render such rumours the more likely and credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather encrease of her hatred towards her husband [y]. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose [z]. Some of the most considerable nobility, on the other hand, observing her rooted aversion to him, had proposed some expedients for Murder of Darnley.

[x] Keith, p. 240, 345—348. [y] Melvil, p. 66, 77. [z] Keith,

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567.

a divorce; and though Mary is said to have spoken honourably on that occasion, and to have embraced the proposal no farther than it should be found consistent with her own honour and her son's legitimacy [a], men were inclined to believe, that the difficulty of finding proper means for effectuating that purpose, was the real cause of laying aside all farther thoughts of it. So far were the suspicions against her carried, that, when Henry, discouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glasgow, an illness of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized immediately on his arrival in that place, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which, it was pretended, she had administered to him.

WHILE affairs were on this footing, all those who wished well to her character or to public tranquillity, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprized, to hear, that a friendship was again conciliated between them, that she had taken a journey to Glasgow on purpose to visit him during his sickness, that she behaved towards him with great tenderness, that she had brought him along with her, and that she appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more suitable to the connexions between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not mistrusting this sudden reconciliation, put himself implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-house; but as the situation of that place was low, and the concourse of people about the court was necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state of health, these reasons were assigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a solitary house, at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him; and she

[a] Camden, p. 404. Goodall's Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 317.

lay

lay ſome nights in a room below his; but on the ninth of February, ſhe told him, that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the King's houſe, which was blown up by gun-powder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence appeared upon it [b]. 1567. Feb. 10.

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture ſoon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of that crime [c]. But as his favour with Mary was open and viſible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his ſentiments; and all men remained in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the darkneſs of the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herſelf, to be murderers of the king; placards were ſecretly affixed on the walls to the ſame purpoſe; offers were made, upon giving proper ſecurities, his guilt ſhould be openly proved: But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would diſcover the author of that villainy, greater vigilance was employed in ſearching out the ſpreaders of the libels and reports againſt Bothwel and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's aſſaſſination, or detecting the regicides [d].

[b] It was imagined, that Henry had been ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up: But this ſuppoſition is contradicted by the confeſſion of the criminals; and there is no neceſſity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body. There are many inſtances that men's lives have been ſaved who had been blown up in ſhips. Had Henry fallen on water he had not probably been killed.

[c] Melvil, p. 78. Cabbala, p. 136. [d] Anderſon's Collections, vol. ii. p. 38. vol. iv. p. 167, 168. Spotſwood, p. 200. Keith, p. 374.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567. THE earl of Lenox, who lived at a distance from court, in poverty and contempt, was rouzed by the report of his son's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring speedy justice against the assassins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, Sir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's household; all of them persons who had been mentioned in the placards affixed to the walls at Edinburgh [e]. Mary took his demand of speedy justice in a very literal sense; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, she sent a citation to Lenox, requiring him to appear in court, and prove his charge against Bothwell [f]. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other persons, accused by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty [g]; Bothwel himself was continually surrounded with armed men [h]; took his place in council [i]; lived during some time in the house with Mary [k]; and seemed to possess all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the castle of Edinburgh, a place of great consequence in this critical time, was entrusted to him, and under him, to his creature, Sir James Balfour, who had himself been publickly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder [l]. Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling, with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all these circumstances; and reflecting on the small train which attended him, he began to entertain very just apprehensions from the power, insolence, and temerity of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, desiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which she bore to her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such extreme

[e] Keith, p. 372. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 3. [f] Keith, p. 373. [g] Ibid. p. 374, 375. [h] Ibid. p. 405. [i] Anderson, vol. i. p. 38, 40, 50, 52. [k] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 274. [l] Spotswood, p. 201.

moment.

moment [m]. No regard was paid to his application: The jury was encloſed, of which the earl of Caithneſs was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreſeeing this precipitation, had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict [n]. The verdict was ſuch as it behoved them to give, where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwel was abſolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehenſive that their verdict would give great ſcandal, and perhaps expoſe them afterwards to ſome danger, entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented the neceſſity of their proceedings [o]. It is remarkable, that the indictment was laid againſt Bothwel for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was aſſaſſinated [p]. The interpretation generally put upon this error, too groſs, it was thought, to have proceeded from miſtake, was, that the ſecret council, by whom Mary was governed, not truſting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they enſured, at all adventure, a plauſible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567. 12th April.

Two days after this extraordinary tranſaction, a parliament was held; and though the verdict in favour of Bothwel was attended with ſuch circumſtances as ſtrongly confirmed, rather than diminiſhed, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the perſon choſen to carry the royal ſceptre on the firſt meeting of that national aſſembly [q]. In this parliament, a rigorous act was made againſt thoſe who ſet up defamatory placards; but no notice was taken

[m] Keith, p. 375. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 52. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 106. Spotſwood, p. 201. [n] Keith, p. 376. [o] Spotſwood, p. 201. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 113. [p] Keith, p. 375. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 93. Spotſwood, p. 201. [q] Keith, p. 78. Crawford, p. 14.

of

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567.

of the king's murder [r]. The favour, which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another tranſaction, which enſued immediately upon the diſſolution of the parliament. A bond or aſſociation was framed; in which the ſubſcribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by ſingle combat, oblige themſelves, in caſe any perſon ſhould afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power againſt ſuch calumniators. After this promiſe, which implied no great aſſurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the ſubſcribers mentioned the neceſſity of their queen's marriage, in order to ſupport the government; and they recommended Bothwel to her as
24th April. a huſband [s]. This paper was ſubſcribed by all the conſiderable nobility there preſent. In a country, divided by violent factions, ſuch a concurrence in favour of one nobleman, no-wiſe diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at leaſt firmly perſuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this meaſure [t]. Nor would ſuch a motive have ſufficed to influence men, commonly ſo ſtubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by ſurprize, been ignorant of each other's ſentiments, and over-awed by the preſent power of the court, and by the apprehenſions of farther violence, from perſons ſo little governed by any rules of honour and humanity. Even with all theſe circumſtances, the ſubſcription to this paper may juſtly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

[r] Keith, p. 380. The queen, in order to gain the people, agreed to an act of parliament, which eſtabliſhed the proteſtant religion; a conceſſion which ſhe could never before be brought to make.

[s] Keith, p. 381.

[t] See note [I] at the end of the volume.

THE

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE ſubſequent meaſures of Bothwel were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a viſit to her ſon, he aſſembled a body of eight hundred horſe, on pretence of purſuing ſome robbers on the borders; and having way-laid her on her return, he ſeized her perſon near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed deſign of forcing her to yield to his purpoſe. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and ſays not, that he ſaw any ſigns of reluctance or conſtraint: He was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with her [u]. A woman, indeed, of that ſpirit and reſolution, which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not uſually, on theſe occaſions, give ſuch marks of oppoſition to *real* violence, as can appear anywiſe doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, ſent her a private meſſage; in which they told her, that, if, in reality, ſhe lay under force, they would uſe all their efforts to relieve her. Her anſwer was, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever ſince her arrival had been ſo well treated, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwel [w]. No one gave himſelf thenceforth any ſolicitude to relieve her from a captivity, which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance.

1567. 24th April.

THIS unuſual conduct was at firſt aſcribed to Mary's ſenſe of the infamy attending her purpoſed marriage; and her deſire of finding ſome colour to gloſs over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon, given to Bothwel a few days after, made the public carry their conjectures ſomewhat farther. In this deed, Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's perſon; and for *all other crimes:* A clauſe, by which the murder

[u] Melvil, p. 80. [w] Spotſwood, p. 202.

of

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567.

of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared scandalous to make openly any mention [x].

THESE events passed with such rapidity, that men had no leisure to admire sufficiently one incident, when they were surprized with a new one, equally rare and uncommon. There still, however, remained one difficulty, which, it was not easy to foresee, how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their shameful purpose, could find expedients to overcome. The man, who had procured the subscription of the nobility, recommending him as a husband to the queen, and who had acted this seeming violence on her person, in order to force her consent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, sister to the earl of Huntley. But persons blinded by passion, and infatuated with crimes, soon shake off all appearance of decency. A suit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this suit was opened at the same instant in two different, or rather opposite courts; in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrews, which was popish, and governed itself by the canon law; and in the new consistorial or commissariot court, which was protestant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was so calculated as to suit the principles which there prevailed: In the archbishop's court, the pretence of consanguinity was employed, because Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commissariot court, the accusation of adultery was made use of against him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel

[x] Anderson, vol. iv. part ii. p. 61.

was

was the perſon who ſued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the ſuit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided with the utmoſt precipitation; and a ſentence of divorce was pronounced in four days [y]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

THE divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper, that Mary ſhould be conducted to Edinburgh, and ſhould there appear before the courts of judicature, and ſhould acknowledge herſelf reſtored to entire freedom. This was underſtood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publiſh in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpoſe. This clergyman, not content with having, for ſome time, refuſed compliance, publicly in his ſermons condemned the marriage; and exhorted all who had acceſs to the queen, to give her their advice againſt ſo ſcandalous an alliance. Being called before the council, to anſwer for this liberty, he ſhowed a courage, which might cover all the nobles with ſhame, on account of their tameneſs and ſervility. He ſaid, that, by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by colluſion, as appeared by the precipitation of that ſentence, and the ſudden concluſion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the ſuſpicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was preſent, no longer to perſevere in his preſent criminal enterprizes; and turning his diſcourſe to the other counſellors, he charged them to employ all their

[y] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 280.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a measure, which would load her with eternal infamy and dishonour. Not satisfied even with this admonition, he took the first opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole transaction, and expressed to them his fears, that, notwithstanding all remonstrances, their sovereign was still obstinately bent on her fatal purpose. "For himself," he said, "he had already discharged his conscience, and yet again would take "heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested that marriage, as scandalous and hateful in the "sight of mankind: But since the Great, as he perceived, either by their flattery or silence, gave countenance "to the measure, he besought the Faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty, that a resolution, taken contrary to all law, reason, and good conscience, might, "by the divine blessing, be turned to the comfort and "benefit of the church and kingdom." These speeches offended the court extremely; and Craig was anew summoned before the council, to answer for his temerity, in thus passing the bounds of his commission. But he told them, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason; and were the queen's marriage tried by any of these standards, it would appear infamous and dishonourable, and would be so esteemed by the whole world. The council were so overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they dismissed him without farther censure or punishment [z].

But though this transaction might have recalled Bothwel and the queen of Scots from their infatuation, and might have instructed them in the dispositions of the people, as well as in their own inability to oppose them; they were still resolute to rush forward, to their own ma-

z Spotswood, p. 203. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 280.

nifest

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567. 15th May.

nifeſt deſtruction. The marriage was ſolemnized by the biſhop of Orkney, a proteſtant, who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: They had, moſt of them, either from ſhame or fear, retired to their own houſes. The French ambaſſador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the marriage by his preſence [a]. Elizabeth remonſtrated, by friendly letters and meſſages, againſt the marriage [b]: The court of France made like oppoſition; but Mary, though on all other occaſions ſhe was extremely obſequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

Queen of Scots marries Bothwel.

THE news of theſe tranſactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but alſo on the whole nation, who ſeemed, by their ſubmiſſion and ſilence, and even by their declared approbation, to give their ſanction to theſe ſcandalous practices [c]. The Scots, who reſided abroad, met with ſuch reproaches, that they durſt no where appear in public; and they earneſtly exhorted their countrymen at home, to free them from the public odium, by bring to condign puniſhment the authors of ſuch atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little more leiſure for reflection, rouſed men at laſt from their lethargy; and the rumours, which, from the very beginning [d], had been ſpread againſt Mary, as if ſhe had concurred in the king's murder, ſeemed now, by the ſubſequent tranſactions, to have received a ſtrong confirmation and authority. It was every where ſaid, that even

[a] Spotſwood, p. 203. Melvil, p. 82. Diggs, p. 14. [b] Keith, p. 392. [c] Melvil, p. 82. Keith, p. 402. Anderſon, vol. i. p 128, 134. [d] Crawford, p. 11. Keith, Pref. p 9.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567. though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been produced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenor of her late conduct was sufficient, not only to beget suspicion, but to produce entire conviction against her: That her sudden resolution of being reconciled to her husband, whom before she had long and justly hated; her bringing him to court, from which she had banished him by neglects and rigours; her fitting up separate apartments for him; were all of them circumstances, which, though trivial in themselves, yet, being compared with the subsequent events, bore a very unfavourable aspect for her: That the least which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her situation, was a more than usual caution in her measures, and an extreme anxiety to punish the real assassins, in order to free herself from all reproach and suspicion: That no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accused of her husband's murder, so much as to approach her presence, far less give him a share in her counsels, and endow him with favour and authority: That an acquittal, merely in the absence of accusers, was very ill-fitted to satisfy the public; especially if that absence proceeded from a designed precipitation of the sentence, and from the terror, which her known friendship for the criminal had infused into every one: That the very mention of her marriage to such a person, in such circumstances, was horrible; and the contrivances of extorting a consent from the nobility, and of concerting a rape, were gross artifices, more proper to discover her guilt than prove her innocence: That where a woman thus shews a consciousness of merited reproach, and, instead of correcting, provides only thin glosses to cover, her exceptionable conduct, she betrays a neglect of fame, which must either be the effect or the cause of the most shameful enormities: That to espouse a man, who had, a few days before, been so scandalously divorced from

his wife; who, to say the least, was believed to have, a few months before, assassinated her husband, was so contrary to the plainest rules of behaviour, that no pretence of indiscretion or imprudence could account for such a conduct: That a woman, who, so soon after her husband's death, though not attended with any extraordinary circumstances, contracts a marriage, which might, in itself, be the most blameless, cannot escape severe censure; but one who overlooks, for her pleasure, so many other weighty considerations, was equally capable, in gratifying her appetites, to neglect every regard to honour and to humanity: That Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public, with regard to her own guilt, and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct; and therefore, if she still continued to pursue measures which gave such just offence, she ratified, by her actions, as much as she could by the most formal confession, all the surmizes and imputations of her enemies: That a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was suspected and accused; if he was innocent, nothing could absolve him, either in Mary's eyes or those of the public, but the detection and conviction of the real assassin; yet no enquiry was made to that purpose, though a parliament had been assembled; the sovereign and wife was here plainly silent from guilt, the people from terror: That the only circumstance, which opposed all these presumptions or rather proofs, was, the benignity and goodness of her preceding behaviour, which seemed to remove her from all suspicions of such atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and persons, guilty of the worst actions, were not always naturally of the worst and most criminal dispositions: That a woman, who, in a critical and dangerous moment, had sacrificed her honour to a man of abandoned principles, might

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

thenceforth be led blindfold by him to the commiſſion of the moſt enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own diſpoſal: And that, though one ſuppoſition was ſtill left to alleviate her blame, namely, that Bothwel, preſuming on her affection towards him, had of himſelf committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her, yet ſuch a ſudden and paſſionate love to a man, whom ſhe had long known, could not eaſily be accounted for, without ſuppoſing ſome degree of preceding guilt; and as it appeared, that ſhe was not afterwards reſtrained, either by ſhame or prudence, from incurring the higheſt reproach and danger, it was not likely, that a ſenſe of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

THESE were the ſentiments which prevailed throughout Scotland; and as the proteſtant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne a great animoſity to Mary, the opinion of her guilt was, by that means, the more widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion on the people. Some attempts, made by Bothwel, and, as it is pretended, with her conſent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the moſt ſerious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of thoſe who had formerly been conſtrained to ſign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers [e]. The earl of Athole himſelf, a known catholic, was the firſt author of this confederacy: The earls of Argyle, Morton, Mar, Glencarne, the lords Boyd, Lindeſey, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and ſecretary Lidington, entered zealouſly into it. The earl of Murray, foreſeeing ſuch turbulent times, and being deſirous to keep free of theſe dangerous

[e] Keith, p. 394.

factions,

factions, had, some time before, desired and obtained Mary's permission to retire into France. CHAP. XXXIX.

1567. Insurrections in Scotland.

Lord Hume was first in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwel, in the castle of Borthwic. They found means of making their escape to Dunbar; while the confederate lords were assembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking measures to effectuate their purpose. Had Bothwel been so prudent as to keep within the fortress of Dunbar, his enemies must have dispersed for want of pay and subsistance; but hearing that the associated lords were fallen into distress, he was so rash as to take the field, and advance towards them. The armies met at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary soon became sensible, that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in the quarrel [f]. After some bravadoes of Bothwel, where he discovered very little courage, she saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son [g]. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourse to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile, Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships, set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy. He was pursued thither by Grange, and his ship was taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished

15th June.

[f] Keith, p. 402. Spotswood, p. 207. [g] Melvil, p. 83, 84.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

for the crime [h]. Bothwel himself escaped in a boat, and found means to get a passage to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after: An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

Imprisonment of Mary.

THE queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects, who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. It is pretended, that she behaved with a spirit very little suitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel [i], and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, where she declared, that she would endure any extremity, nay, resign her dignity and crown itself, rather than relinquish his affections [k]. The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were exposed, in case Mary should finally prevail, thought themselves obliged to proceed with rigour against her; and they sent her next day under a guard to the castle of Lochlevin, situated in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness and severity.

ELIZABETH, who was fully informed of all those events, seemed touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen; and all her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep, by the consideration of that ruin and infamy, in which Mary's conduct had involved her, she began to reflect on the instability of human affairs, the precarious state of royal grandeur, the danger of encou-

h Anderson, vol. ii. p. 165, 166, &c. i Keith, p. 419.

k Melvil, p. 84. The reality of this letter appears somewhat disputable; chiefly because Murray and his associates never mentioned it in their accusation of her before queen Elizabeth's commissioners.

raging

raging rebellious subjects; and she resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to her, and of that generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princess, so enormous, and in every respect so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and though she felt the movements of pity towards her, she had once determined never to interpose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was totally desperate, and honour irretrievable: That she was well assured, that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathy, and had made her adopt measures more favourable to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen: That she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: That she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head, and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: That after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1567.

niſhment of her huſband's aſſaſſins, the ſafety of her infant ſon was next to be conſidered; and there ſeemed no expedient more proper for that purpoſe, than ſending him to be educated in England: And that, beſides the ſecurity, which would attend his removal from a ſcene of faction and convulſions, there were many other beneficial conſequences, which it was eaſy to foreſee as the reſult of his education in that country [1].

THE remonſtrances, which Throgmorton was inſtructed to make to the aſſociated lords, were entirely conformable to theſe ſentiments, which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, that, whatever blame ſhe might throw on Mary's conduct, any oppoſition to their ſovereign was totally unjuſtifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: That it belonged not to them to reform, much leſs to puniſh, the mal-adminiſtration of their prince; and the only arms, which ſubjects could in any caſe lawfully employ againſt the ſupreme authority, were entreaties, counſels, and repreſentations: That if theſe expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whoſe hands are the hearts of princes, ſhould be pleaſed to turn them to juſtice and to mercy. That ſhe inculcated not this doctrine, becauſe ſhe herſelf was intereſted in its obſervance; but becauſe it was univerſally received in all well governed ſtates, and was eſſential to the preſervation of civil ſociety: That ſhe required them to reſtore their queen to liberty; and promiſed, in that caſe, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for puniſhing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: And that if the ſervices, which ſhe had lately conferred on the Scottiſh nation, in protecting them from

[1] Keith, p. 411, 412, &c.

foreign uſurpation, were duly conſidered by them, they would repoſe confidence in her good offices, and would eſteem themſelves blame-worthy, in having hitherto made no application to her [m]. 1567.

ELIZABETH, beſides theſe remonſtrances, ſent, by Throgmorton, ſome articles of accommodation, which he was to propoſe to both parties, as expedients for the ſettlement of public affairs; and though theſe articles contained ſome important reſtraints on the ſovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were ſufficiently indulgent to her [n]. The aſſociated lords, who determined to proceed with greater ſeverity, were apprehenſive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being ſenſible, that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princeſs [o], they thought proper, after ſeveral affected delays, to refuſe the Engliſh ambaſſador all acceſs to her. There were four different ſchemes propoſed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen: One, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her authority under very ſtrict limitations: The ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſign her crown to the prince, be baniſhed the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with aſſurances from the ſovereign, in whoſe dominions ſhe ſhould reſide, that ſhe ſhould make no attempts to the diſturbance of the eſtabliſhed government: The third, that ſhe ſhould be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment: The fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon her [p]. Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the performance

[m] Keith, p. 414, 415, 429. [n] Ibid. p. 416. [o] Ibid. p. 427.
[p] Ibid. p. 420.

of

CHAP. XXXIX.

1567. of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal [q], and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon the queen; he found, that, excepting secretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Testament, which can only be warranted by particular revelations, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign [r].

THERE were several pretenders to the regency of the young prince, after the intended deposition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: The duke of Chatelrault, who was absent in France, had pretensions as next heir to the crown: But the greatest number of the associated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they had the greatest trust, and who possessed the entire confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All measures being therefore concerted, three instruments were sent to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindesey and Sir Robert Melvil; by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to name a council, which should administer the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, lying justly under apprehensions for her life, and believing, that no deed, which she executed during her captivity, could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and she took not the trouble of inspecting any one of them [s]. In conse-

[q] Keith, p. 428. Spotswood, p. 211. [r] Ibid. p. 422, 426. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 19. [s] Melvil, p. 85.

quence

CHAP. XXXIX.

quence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation-oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pretensions, in favour of the people's power, were countenanced in this ceremony [t]; and a coin was soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, *Pro me; si merear, in me:* For me; if I deserve it, against me [u]. Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots [w]. 1567. 29th July.

THE council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and spoke to her in a manner which better suited her past conduct than her present condition. This harsh treatment quite extinguished in her breast any remains of affection towards him [x]. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament; and that assembly, after voting, that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent [y]. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed Sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: He constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates: And he demolished that fortress. 15th Dec.

BUT though every thing thus bore a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce

[t] Keith, p. 439, 440. [u] Ibid. p. 440. Append. p. 150. [w] Ibid. p. 430. [x] Melvil, p. 87. Keith, p. 445. [y] Anderson, vol. ii. p. 206, & seq.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however neceſſary, can never be effected without great diſcontents; and it was not likely, that, in a country, where the government, in its moſt ſettled ſtate, poſſeſſed a very disjointed authority, a new eſtabliſhment ſhould meet with no interruption or diſturbance. Few conſiderable men of the nation ſeemed willing to ſupport Mary, ſo long as Bothwel was preſent; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the ſentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being diſappointed of the regency, bore no good will to Murray; and the ſame ſentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: Several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the aſſociators, formed a faction apart, and oppoſed the prevailing power: And beſides their being moved by ſome remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, obſerving every thing carried to extremity againſt her, were naturally led to embrace her cauſe, and ſhelter themſelves under her authority. All who retained any propenſity to the catholic religion, were inclined to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly, either deteſted Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now influenced by her misfortunes to compaſſionate her preſent ſituation, and lamented, that a perſon, poſſeſſed of ſo many amiable accompliſhments, joined to ſuch high dignity, ſhould be treated with ſuch extreme rigour and ſeverity [z]. Animated by all theſe motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of that princeſs.

1567.

1568.

WHILE theſe humours were in fermentation, Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting her eſcape; and

[z] Buchanan, lib. xviii. c. 53.

ſhe

she engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to assist her in that enterprize. She even went so far as to give him hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwel should be dissolved on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry [a]. And in a few days an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568. 2d May.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures, which she had hitherto pursued. If she had not employed force against the regent, during the imprisonment of that princess, she had been chiefly withheld by the fear of pushing him to greater extremities against her [b]; but she had proposed to the court of France an expedient, which, though less violent, would have been no less effectual for her service: She desired that France and England should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to their injured sovereign [c]. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces, to Mary; but as she ap-

[a] Keith, p. 475. [b] Ibid. p. 463. Cabala, p. 141. [c] Keith, p. 462.

prehended

CHAP. XXXIX.

1568. prehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland [d].

But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haste to assemble forces; and notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the 13th May. field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent; and though Murray, after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess Mary flies into England. fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom: She had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour; and was not, besides, provided with a vessel, which could safely convey her thither: The late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even assistance, from that quarter [e]; and as the present fears from her domestic enemies were the most urgent, she overlooked all other considerations, and embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Wirkington in Cumberland, about thirty miles distant from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival,

[d] Keith, p. 473. in the notes. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 26. [e] Jebb's Collection, vol. i. p. 420.

desiring

desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship, made her by that princess. 1568.

ELIZABETH now found herself in a situation, when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy[f]; she was engaged by that prudent minister to weigh anew all the considerations, which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, that the party, which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere in their connections with Elizabeth: That though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they considered, that Elizabeth was the only ally, on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connections, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: That Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was in secret entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more, would she implicitly comply with their views, when, by her own misconduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her sole resource and security: That her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confede-

[f] Cabala, p. 140.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

racy againſt the religion and government of England: That it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the deſign of reſtoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprize, if undertaken, ſhould be effected by Engliſh forces alone, and that full ſecurities ſhould beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: That above all, it was requiſite to guard carefully the perſon of that princeſs; leſt, finding this unexpected reſerve in the Engliſh friendſhip, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly take the reſolution of flying into France, and ſhould attempt by foreign force to recover poſſeſſion of her authority: That her deſperate fortunes and broken reputation fitted her for any attempt; and her reſentment, when ſhe ſhould find herſelf thus deſerted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful, enemy to the Engliſh government: That if ſhe was once abroad, in the hands of enterpriſing catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as eaſy as that on Scotland; and the only method, ſhe muſt imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which ſhe would eſteem herſelf equally intitled: That a neutrality in ſuch intereſting ſituations, though it might be pretended, could never, without the moſt extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requiſite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour, or againſt her: That nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generoſity; yet the ſuggeſtions of this noble principle could never, without imprudence, be conſulted in ſuch delicate circumſtances as thoſe in which the queen was at preſent placed; where her own ſafety and the intereſts of her people were intimately concerned in every reſolution which ſhe embraced: That though the example of ſucceſsful rebellion, eſpecially in a neighbouring country, could

could no wise be agreeable to any sovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been so great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the insurrection of subjects, after such provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent against other princes: That it was first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain, in a regular and satisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection, which she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects: That as no glory could surpass that of defending oppressed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of such dishonour would extend itself to all who countenanced or supported it: And that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on enquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her, which policy should dictate, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprize, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

AGREEABLY to these views, Elizabeth resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious manner, with the queen of Scots; and she immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princess. Soon after, she dispatched to her lord Scrope himself, warden of the marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and after expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with: Till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not without dishonour show her any

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman[g]. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend[h]. Two days after she sent lord Herreis to London with a letter to the same purpose.

This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid, without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: She immediately dispatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to desist from the farther prosecution of his queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message, so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally, which he could expect among foreign nations, he was resolved rather to digest the affront than provoke Elizabeth by a refusal. He also considered, that, though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to support the king's cause in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but so penetrating a princess would in the end discover this interest, and would at least afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners; and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth[i].

Lord Herreis now perceived, that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions: He endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of

[g] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 54, 66, 82, 83, 86, 55, 87.

[h] Ibid. p. 10,

[i] Ibid. p. 13—16.

her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present aid from England, or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. Being pressed, however, with the former agreement before the English council, he again renewed his consent; but in a few days he began anew to recoil; and it was with some difficulty that he was brought to acquiesce in the first determination [k]. These fluctuations, which were incessantly renewed, showed his visible reluctance to the measures pursued by the court of England. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

THE queen of Scots discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persevere in the agreement, to which she had at first consented. This latter princess still said to her, that she desired not, without Mary's consent and approbation, to enter into the question, and pretended only as a friend to hear her justification: That she was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology should fall short of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to support her cause, and procure her some reasonable terms of accommodation: And that it was never meant, that she should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear and to justify themselves for their conduct towards her [l]. Allured by these plausible professions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners, before commissioners appointed by Elizabeth.

DURING these transactions, lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles, who resided with Mary at Carlisle, had leisure to study her character, and to make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, resolute in

[k] Anderson, p. 16—20. [l] Ibid. p. 11, 12, 13, 109, 110.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1568. her purpose, active in her enterprizes, she aspired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. Eloquent, insinuating, affable; she had already convinced all those who approached her, of the innocence of her past conduct; and as she declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourse to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance against her persecutors, it was easy to foresee the danger, to which her charms, her spirit, her address, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expose them [m]. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her prisoner, were determined to watch her with still greater vigilance. As Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities for contriving her escape, they removed her to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire: And the issue of the controversy between her and the Scottish nation was regarded as a subject more momentous to Elizabeth's security and interests, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

4th Octob. Conferences at York and Hampton-court.

The commissioners, appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Herreis, Levingstone, and Boyde, with five persons more, appeared as commissioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindesey, and the abbot of Dunfermling were appointed commissioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet

[m] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 54, 71, 72, 74, 78, 92.

and

and hiſtorian, with ſome others, were named as their assiſtants. CHAP. XXXIX.

1568.

It was a great circumſtance in Elizabeth's glory, that ſhe was thus choſen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had, during many centuries, entertained the moſt violent jealouſy and animoſity againſt England; and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortune and fame of ſo dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greateſt inquietude, now entirely at her diſpoſal. Some circumſtances of her late conduct had diſcovered a byaſs towards the ſide of Mary: Her prevailing intereſts led her to favour the enemies of that princeſs: The profeſſions of impartiality, which ſhe had made, were open and frequent; and ſhe had ſo far ſucceeded, that each ſide accuſed her commiſſioners of partiality towards their adverſaries [n]. She herſelf appears, by the inſtructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the deciſion; but ſhe knew, that the advantages, which ſhe ſhould reap, muſt be great, whatever iſſue the cauſe ſhould take. If Mary's crimes could be aſcertained by undoubted proof, ſhe could for ever blaſt the reputation of that princeſs, and might juſtifiably detain her for ever a cloſe priſoner in England: If the evidence fell ſhort of conviction, it was propoſed to reſtore her to the throne, but with ſuch ſtrict limitations, as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect abſolute miſtreſs of that kingdom [o].

Mary's commiſſioners, before they gave in their complaints againſt her enemies in Scotland, entered a proteſt, that their appearance in the cauſe ſhould no wiſe affect the independance of her crown, or be conſtrued as a mark of ſubordination to England: The Engliſh commiſſioners re-

[n] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 40. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 110.

[o] Ibid. 14, 15, &c.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

ceived this proteſt, but with a reſerve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princeſs was next read, and contained a detail of all the injuries, which ſhe had ſuffered ſince her marriage with Bothwel: That her ſubjects had taken arms againſt her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when ſhe put herſelf into their hands, they had committed her to cloſe cuſtody in Lochlevin; had placed her ſon, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms againſt her after her delivery from priſon; had rejected all her propoſals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the ſafety of her perſon, to take ſhelter in England [p]. The earl of Murray, in anſwer to this complaint, gave a ſummary and imperfect account of the late tranſactions: That the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, ſeized the perſon of the queen and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired ſuch influence over her as to gain her conſent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his marriage with the queen; that the ſcandal of this tranſaction, the diſhonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was expoſed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppoſe his criminal deſigns and enterprizes; that after Mary, in order to ſave him, had thrown herſelf into their hands, ſhe ſtill diſcovered ſuch violent attachment to him, that they found it neceſſary, for their own and the public ſafety, to confine her perſon, during a ſeaſon, till Bothwel and the other murderers of her huſband could be tried and puniſhed for their crimes; and that during this confinement, ſhe had voluntarily, without compulſion or violence, merely from diſguſt at

[p] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 52. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 128. Haynes, p. 478.

the

the inquietude and vexations attending power, resigned her crown to her only son, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority [q]. The queen's answer to this apology was obvious: That she did not know and never could suspect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her husband, was the murderer of the king; that she ever was, and still continues desirous, that, if he be guilty, he may be brought to condign punishment; that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her, that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never have any force or validity [r]. 1568.

So far the queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage in the contest: And the English commissioners might have been surprized, that Murray had made so weak a defence, and had suppressed all the material imputations against that princess, on which his party had ever so strenuously insisted; had not some private conferences previously informed them of the secret. Mary's commissioners had boasted, that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinswoman, and from her desire of maintaining the rights of sovereigns, was determined, how criminal soever the conduct of that princess might appear, to restore her to the throne [s]; and Murray, reflecting on some past measures of the English court, began to apprehend, that there were but too just grounds for these expectations. He believed, that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the

[q] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 64. & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 144.
[r] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 60. & seq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 162.
[s] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 45. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 127.

most

CHAP. XXXIX.

1563. most violent part of the accusation against her, would submit to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but if he once proceeded so far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no composition could afterwards take place; and should she ever be restored, either by the power of Elizabeth, or the assistance of her other friends, he and his party must be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance [t]. He resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure, which it would be impossible for him ever to recal; and he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should, upon examination, appear entirely satisfactory. Norfolk was not secretly displeased with these scruples of the regent [u]. He had ever been a partizan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Lidington, who began also to incline to that party, and was a man of singular address and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of espousing her: And though that duke confessed [w], that the proofs against Mary seemed to him unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his present resolution not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the English commissioners [x].

NORFOLK, however, was obliged to transmit to court the queries proposed by the regent. These queries consisted of four particulars: Whether the English commissioners had authority from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? Whether they would promise to ex-

t Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 47, 48. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 159.

u Crawford, p. 92. Melvil, p. 94, 95. Haynes, p. 574.

w Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 77. x Ibid. p. 57, 77. State Trials, vol. i. p. 76.

ercise

ercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if she were found guilty, should be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at least, so secured in England, that she never should be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority [y]?

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

Elizabeth, when these queries, with the other transactions, were laid before her, began to think, that they pointed towards a conclusion more decisive and more advantageous than she had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, she immediately joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, admiral, and Sir William Cecil, secretary [z]. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of these secret motives, and who expected, that fear or decency would still restrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this adjournment; and declared, that the affair, being under the immediate inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it [a]. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton-Court; and Mary's commissioners, as before, made no scruple to be present at them.

The queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all Murray's demands; and having declared, that, though she wished and hoped, from the present enquiry, to be entirely

y Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 55. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 130.

z Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 99.

a Ibid. p. 95. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 177, 179.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

tirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event ſhould prove contrary, and if that princeſs ſhould appear guilty of her huſband's murder, ſhe ſhould, for her own part, deem her ever after unworthy of a throne [b]. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and after expreſſing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and proteſting, that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, which muſt not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in ſuch a meaſure, he proceeded to accuſe her in plain terms of participation and conſent in the aſſaſſination of the king [c]. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity [d].

When this charge was ſo unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were tranſmitted to the biſhop of Roſs, lord Herreis, and the reſt of Mary's commiſſioners, they abſolutely refuſed to return an anſwer; and they grounded their ſilence on very extraordinary reaſons: They had orders, they ſaid, from their miſtreſs, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and could not be ſubject to any tribunal; and they required, that ſhe ſhould previouſly be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, to whom, and to whom alone, ſhe was determined to juſtify her innocence [e]. They forgot, that the conferences were at firſt begun, and were ſtill continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accuſations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own conſent and appro-

[b] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 199. & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 206. p. 122. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 208. p. 125, & ſeq. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184, 211, 217.

[c] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 115.

[d] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2.

[e] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2.

bation,

bation, not as assuming any superior jurisdiction over her; that this princess had from the beginning refused to admit her to her presence, till she should vindicate herself from the crimes imputed to her; that she had therefore discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in that resolution; and that though she had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his collegues, she had previously conferred the same honour on Mary's commissioners [f]; and her conduct was so far entirely equal to both parties [g]. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

As the queen of Scots's commissioners refused to give in any answer to Murray's charge, the necessary consequence seemed to be, that there could be no farther proceedings in the conference. But though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers, who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English commissioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations, which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign: But though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgot the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman; and she therefore desired to know what they could say in their own justification [h]. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty of producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written all in her own

[f] Lesley's Negociations in Anderson, vol. iii. p. 25. Haynes, p. 487.

[g] See note [K] at the end of the volume.

[h] Anderson, vol. iv. part 2. p. 147. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 233.

hand,

CHAP. XXXIX.

1568.

hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another ſubſcribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promiſe of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

ALL theſe important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a ſilver box or caſket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her firſt huſband, Francis; and though the princeſs had enjoined him to burn the letters as ſoon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preſerve them, as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the cuſtody of Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh. When that fortreſs was beſieged by the aſſociated lords, Bothwel ſent a ſervant to receive the caſket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but as he had at that time received ſome diſguſt from Bothwel, and was ſecretly negociating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwel, of her conſent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in that rape, which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her [i]. Murray fortified this evidence by ſome teſtimonies of correſpondent facts [k]; and he added, ſome time after, the dying confeſſion of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a ſervant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being acceſſary to that criminal enterprize [l].

i Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 115. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 1.

k Anderſon, vol. ii. part 2. p. 165, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 243.

l Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 192. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 76.

MARY'S

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

MARY's commiſſioners had uſed every expedient to ward this blow, which they ſaw coming upon them, and againſt which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As ſoon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an enquiry into a negociation; and though informed by the Engliſh commiſſioners, that nothing could be more diſhonourable for their miſtreſs, than to enter into a treaty with ſuch undutiful ſubjects, before ſhe had juſtified herſelf from thoſe enormous imputations, which had been thrown upon her, they ſtill inſiſted, that Elizabeth ſhould ſettle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland [m]. They maintained, that, till their miſtreſs had given in her anſwer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be called for nor produced [n]: And finding, that the Engliſh commiſſioners were ſtill determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. Theſe papers, at leaſt tranſlations of them, have ſince been publiſhed. The objections, made to their authenticity, are in general of ſmall force: but were they ever ſo ſpecious, they cannot now be hearkened to; ſince Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence againſt her by recoiling from the enquiry at the very critical moment, and refuſing to give an anſwer to the accuſation of her enemies [o].

BUT Elizabeth, though ſhe had ſeen enough for her own ſatisfaction, was determined, that the moſt eminent perſons of her court ſhould alſo be acquainted with theſe tranſactions, and ſhould be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy-council to be aſſembled; and that ſhe might render the matter more

[m] Anderſon, vol. ii. part 2. p. 135, 139. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 224.
[n] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 139, 45. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 228.
[o] See note [L] at the end of the volume.

ſolemn

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

ſolemn and authentic, ſhe added to them the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwic. All the proceedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were read to them: The evidences produced by Murray were peruſed: A great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: The refuſal of the queen of Scots's commiſſioners to make any reply, was related: And on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that, as ſhe had, from the firſt, thought it improper, that Mary, after ſuch horrid crimes were imputed to her, ſhould be admitted to her preſence, before ſhe had, in ſome meaſure, juſtified herſelf from the charge; ſo now, when her guilt was confirmed by ſo many plauſible evidences, and all anſwer refuſed, ſhe muſt, for her part, perſevere more ſteadily in that reſolution [p]. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots's commiſſioners, and after obſerving, that ſhe deemed it much more decent for their miſtreſs to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of juſtifying herſelf in perſon, ſhe told them, that Mary might either ſend her reply by a perſon whom ſhe truſted, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman, whom Elizabeth ſhould appoint to wait upon her: But as to her reſolution of making no reply at all, ſhe muſt regard it as the ſtrongeſt confeſſion of guilt: nor could they ever be deemed her friends, who adviſed her to that method of proceeding [q]. Theſe topics ſhe enforced ſtill more ſtrongly in a letter, which ſhe wrote to Mary herſelf [r].

THE queen of Scots had no other ſubterfuge from theſe preſſing remonſtrances than ſtill to demand a perſonal interview with Elizabeth: A conceſſion, which, ſhe was

[p] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 170, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 254.
[q] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 179, &c. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 268.
[r] Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 183. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 269.

ſenſible,

sensible, could never be granted [s]; because Elizabeth knew, that this expedient could decide nothing; because it brought matters to extremity, which that princess desired to avoid; and because it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences. In order to keep herself better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Even after the conferences were broken off, she ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates as the murderers of the king [t]: But this accusation, coming so late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unsupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy [u]. She also desired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand was finally refused her [w].

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expressed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and had thrown the whole government into confusion. Elizabeth, therefore, dismissed him; and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds, to bear the charges of his journey [x]. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in passing from France; and as the queen knew, that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plausible pretensions to the regency of the king of Scots; she thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman [y],

[s] Cabala, p. 157. [t] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 280.

[u] See note [M] at the end of the volume. [w] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 253, 283, 289, 310, 311. Haynes, vol. i. p. 492. See note [N] at the end of the volume. [x] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 677. [y] MS. in the Advocate's library. A. 3, 29. p. 128, 129, 130. from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 1.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

she still declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

ORDERS were given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford; where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes, that this princess, discouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late transactions, would be glad to secure a safe retreat from all the tempests, with which she had been agitated; and she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; and the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray [z]. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in that resolution, she knew, that, if, in the present emergence, she made such concessions, her submission would be universally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies [a].

MARY still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes: And as she asserted, that she had come voluntarily into England, invited by many former professions of amity, she thought, that one or other of these requests could not, without the most extreme injustice, be refused her. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger, which attended both these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her still a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generosity appeared much less urgent than she was willing to pretend. Necessity, it

[z] Goodall, vol. ii. p. 295. [a] Ibid. p. 301.

was

was thought, would to the prudent juſtify her detention: Her paſt miſconduct would apologize for it to the equitable: And though it was foreſeen, that compaſſion for Mary's ſituation, joined to her intrigues and inſinuating behaviour, would, while ſhe remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, eſpecially of the catholics; theſe inconveniencies were deemed much inferior to thoſe which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth truſted alſo to her own addreſs, for eluding all thoſe difficulties: She propoſed to avoid breaking abſolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negotiate perpetually with her, and ſtill to throw the blame of not coming to any concluſion, either on unforeſeen accidents, or on the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of others. CHAP. XXXIX. 1568.

We come now to mention ſome Engliſh affairs, which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narration of the events in Scotland, which form ſo material a part of the preſent reign. The term, fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambreſis for the reſtitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, ſent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that miniſter, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her reſident ambaſſador, enforced her pretenſions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any concluſion. The chancellor, De L'Hoſpital, told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that, though France by an article of the treaty was obliged to reſtore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the ſame treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of every right, that could accrue to her by that engagement: That it was agreed, if the Engliſh ſhould, during that interval, commit hoſtilities upon France, they ſhould inſtantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pre-

CHAP. XXXIX.

1568.

tences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: That though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors; these governors were rebels; and a correspondence with such traytors was the most flagrant injury, that could be committed on any sovereign: That in the treaty, which ensued upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title, which had accrued to the crown of France: And that though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims: this concession could not avail the English, who at that time possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all pretensions to that fortress [b]. The queen was no wise surprized at hearing these allegations; and as she knew, that the French court intended not from the first to make restitution, much less, after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons, she thought it better for the present to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as well as unseasonable [c].

ELIZABETH entered anew into negociations for espousing the archduke Charles; and she seems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: But as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree, that the archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, despairing of success in his addresses, married the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria [d].

[b] Haynes, p. 587. [c] Camden, p. 406. [d] Ibid. p. 407, 408.

## CHAP. XL.

*Character of the puritans——Duke of Norfolk's conſpiracy——Inſurrection in the north——Aſſaſſination of the earl of Murray——A parliament——Civil wars of France——Affairs of the Low Countries——New conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk——Trial of Norfolk——His execution——Scotch affairs——French affairs——Maſſacre of Paris——French affairs——Civil wars of the Low Countries——A parliament.*

CHAP. XL.

1568.

Character of the puritans.

OF all the European churches, which ſhook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with ſo much reaſon and moderation as the church of England; an advantage, which had been derived partly from the interpoſition of the civil magiſtrate in this innovation, partly from the gradual and ſlow ſteps, by which the reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animoſity againſt the catholic religion was as little indulged as could be ſuppoſed in ſuch a revolution: The fabric of the ſecular hierarchy was maintained entire: The ancient liturgy was preſerved, ſo far as was thought conſiſtent with the new principles: Many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding uſe, were retained: The ſplendor of the Romiſh worſhip, though removed, had at leaſt given place to order and decency: The diſtinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued: No innovation was admitted merely from ſpite and oppoſition to former uſage:

CHAP. XL. 1563.

And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient ſuperſtition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and intereſts of ſociety, had preſerved itſelf in that happy medium, which wiſe men have always ſought, and which the people have ſo ſeldom been able to maintain.

But though ſuch in general was the ſpirit of the reformation in that country, many of the Engliſh reformers, being men of more warm complexions and more obſtinate tempers, endeavoured to puſh matters to extremity againſt the church of Rome, and indulged themſelves in the moſt violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among theſe, Hooper, who afterwards ſuffered for his religion with ſuch extraordinary conſtancy, was chiefly diſtinguiſhed. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the ſee of Gloceſter, and made no ſcruple of accepting the epiſcopal office; but he refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, the cymarre and rochette, which had formerly, he ſaid, been abuſed to ſuperſtition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true chriſtian. Cranmer and Ridley were ſurprized at this objection, which oppoſed the received practice, and even the eſtabliſhed laws; and though young Edward, deſirous of promoting a man ſo celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal, and his morals, enjoined them to diſpenſe with this ceremony, they were ſtill determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the reſolution, rather to refuſe the biſhopric than cloath himſelf in thoſe hated garments; but it was deemed requiſite, that, for the ſake of the example, he ſhould not eſcape ſo eaſily. He was firſt confined to Cranmer's houſe, then thrown into priſon, till he ſhould conſent to be a biſhop on the terms propoſed: He was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the moſt celebrated foreign reformers were

were consulted on this important question: And a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the obnoxious robes, but should agree to be consecrated in them, and to use them during cathedral service [e]: A condescension not a little extraordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformer. CHAP. XL. 1568.

THE same objection, which had arisen with regard to the episcopal habits, had been moved against the rayment of the inferior clergy; and the surplice in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealots [f]. In vain was it urged, that particular habits, as well as postures and ceremonies, having been constantly used by the clergy, and employed in religious service, acquire a veneration in the eyes of the people, appear sacred in their apprehensions, excite their devotion, and contract a kind of mysterious virtue, which attaches the affections of men to the national and established worship: That in order to produce this effect an uniformity in these particulars is requisite, and even a perseverance, as far as possible, in the former practice: And that the nation would be happy, if, by retaining these inoffensive observances, they could engage the people to renounce willingly what was hurtful or pernicious in the ancient superstition. These arguments, which had influence with wise men, were the very reasons, which engaged the violent protestants to reject the habits. They pushed matters to a total opposition with the church of Rome: Every compliance, they said, was a symbolizing with Antichrist [g]. And this spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that, in a national remonstrance, made afterwards by the church of Scotland against these habits, it was asked, "What has

[e] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 152. Heylin, p. 90. [f] Strype, vol. i. p. 416. [g] Ibid. p 416.

CHAP. XL. 1568.

"Chriſt Jeſus to do with Belial? What has darkneſs "to do with light? If ſurplices, corner caps, and tippets have been badges of idolaters in the very act of "their idolatry; why ſhould the preacher of Chriſtian "liberty, and the open rebuker of all ſuperſtition partake with the dregs of the Romiſh beaſt? Yea, who "is there that ought not rather to be afraid of taking "in his hand or on his forehead the print and mark of "that odious beaſt [f]?" But this application was rejected by the Engliſh church.

THERE was only one inſtance, in which the ſpirit of contradiction to the Romaniſts took place univerſally in England: The altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reaſon, why this innovation met with ſuch general reception, was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making ſpoil of the plate, veſtures, and rich ornaments which belonged to the altars [g].

THESE diſputes, which had been ſtarted during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the proteſtants, who fled from the perſecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of theſe men had received an encreaſe from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their oppoſition to the utmoſt extremity againſt the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin and the other reformers, who followed the diſcipline and worſhip of Geneva, confirmed them farther in this obſtinate reluctance; and though ſome of the refugees, particularly thoſe who were eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, ſtill adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing ſpirit carried theſe confeſſors to ſeek a ſtill farther reformation. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth, they

[f] Keith, p. 565. Knox, p. 402. [g] Heylin, preface, p. 3. Hiſt. p. 106.

returned

returned to their native country; and being regarded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and paſt ſufferings, they ventured to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of their projected model; nor did they want countenance from many conſiderable perſons in the queen's council. But the princeſs herſelf, ſo far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies, which remained in it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual [h]; and ſhe thought, that the reformation had already gone too far in ſhaking off thoſe forms and obſervances, which, without diſtracting men of more refined apprehenſions, tend in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuſe, and engage the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted: She was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies, which ſhe thought proper: And though ſhe was ſparing in the exerciſe of this prerogative, ſhe continued rigid in exacting an obſervance of the eſtabliſhed laws, and in puniſhing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a ſecret antipathy to the epiſcopal order and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great meaſure, to conceal theſe ſentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined

CHAP. XL. 1568.

[h] *When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had ſpoken leſs reverently in a ſermon, preached before her, of the ſign of the croſs, ſhe called aloud to him from her cloſet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digreſſion and to return unto his text. And on the other ſide, when one of her divines had preached a ſermon in defence of the real preſence, ſhe openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.* Heylin, p. 124. She would have abſolutely forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interpoſed. Strype's Life of Parker, p. 107, 108, 109. She was an enemy to ſermons; and uſually ſaid, that ſhe thought two or three preachers were ſufficient for a whole county. It was probably for theſe reaſons that one Doring told her to her face from the pulpit, that ſhe was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obſtructed his diſcipline. See Life of Hooker, prefixed to his works.

their

CHAP. XL. 1568.

their avowed objections to the ſurplice, the confirmation of children, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the ſacrament, and bowing at the name of Jeſus. So fruitleſs is it for ſovereigns to watch with a rigid care over orthodoxy, and to employ the ſword in religious controverſy, that the work, perpetually renewed, is perpetually to begin; and a garb, a geſture, nay, a metaphyſical or grammatical diſtinction, when rendered important by the diſputes of theologians and the zeal of the magiſtrate, is ſufficient to deſtroy the unity of the church, and even the peace of ſociety. Theſe controverſies had already excited ſuch ferment among the people, that in ſome places they refuſed to frequent the churches, where the habits and ceremonies were uſed; would not ſalute the conforming clergy; and proceeded ſo far as to revile them in the ſtreets, to ſpit in their faces, and to uſe them with all manner of contumely [i]. And while the ſovereign authority checked theſe exceſſes, the flame was confined, not extinguiſhed; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burſt out in the ſucceeding reigns to the deſtruction of the church and monarchy.

All enthuſiaſts, indulging themſelves in rapturous flights, extaſies, viſions, inſpirations, have a natural averſion to epiſcopal authority, to ceremonies, rites, and forms, which they denominate ſuperſtition, or beggarly elements, and which ſeem to reſtrain the liberal effuſions of their zeal and devotion: But there was another ſet of opinions adopted by theſe innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's averſion. The ſame bold and daring ſpirit, which accompanied them in their addreſſes to the divinity, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during ſome reigns, had been

[i] Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 460.

little

little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the preſent exorbitant prerogative, had been ſtrongly adopted by this new ſect. Scarcely any ſovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in ſpeculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the puritans (ſo theſe ſectaries were called, on account of their pretending to a ſuperior purity of worſhip and diſcipline) could not recommend themſelves worſe to her favour, than by inculcating the doctrine of reſiſting or reſtraining princes. From all theſe motives, the queen neglected no opportunity of depreſſing thoſe zealous innovators; and while they were ſecretly countenanced by ſome of her moſt favoured miniſters, Cecil, Leiceſter, Knolles, Bedford, Walſingham, ſhe never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to inſert in this place an account of the riſe and the genius of the puritans; becauſe Camden marks the preſent year, as the period when they began to make themſelves conſiderable in England. We now return to our narration.

1569. Duke of Norfolk's conſpiracy.

The duke of Norfolk was the only peer, that enjoyed the higheſt title of nobility; and as there were at preſent no princes of the blood, the ſplendor of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without compariſon the firſt ſubject in England. The qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation: Beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obſequious, he poſſeſſed, without giving her any jealouſy, the good graces of his ſovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt

CHAP. XL. 1569.

most considerable men of that party: But as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a distance.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: But the first person, who, after secretary Lidington, opened the scheme to the duke is said to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland [k]. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissentions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's interest the faster with Mary's, he proposed, that the duke's daughter should espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all conditions being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations, which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: And therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from

[k] Lesley, p. 36, 37.

Bothwel,

Bothwel, ſhe would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another huſband [l]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

It is probable, that Murray was not ſincere in this propoſal. He had two motives to engage him to diſſimulation. He knew the danger, which he muſt run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Mary's partizans in that country; and he dreaded an inſurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom ſhe had appointed her lieutenants during her abſence. By theſe feigned appearances of friendſhip, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen [m]; and he perſuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permiſſion, and even advice, to conclude a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the regent's party [n].

The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed, that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be previouſly obtained, before the completion of his marriage, had reaſon to apprehend, that he never ſhould prevail with her voluntarily to make that conceſſion. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealouſy againſt her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all propoſals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foreſaw, that this princeſs's eſpouſing a perſon of his power and character and intereſt, would give the greateſt umbrage; and as it would then become neceſſary to reinſtate her in poſſeſſion of her throne on ſome tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhing of her character, he dreaded, leſt Elizabeth, whoſe politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to ſuch indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previouſly to gain the conſent and approbation of ſeveral of the moſt conſider-

[l] Leſley, p. 40, 41. [m] State Trials, p. 76, 78. [n] Leſley, p. 41.

able

CHAP. XL. 1569.

able nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex [o]. Lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the proposal: Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained some views of espousing Mary, willingly resigned all his pretensions, and seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests [p]. There were other motives, besides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himself, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked those sallies of passion, and sometimes of caprice, to which she was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, and remonstrances, and arguments were sure at last to recommend themselves to her sound discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to augment her authority: And though she supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremity, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid about this time

o Lesley, p. 55. Camden, p. 419. Spotswood, p. 250. p Haynes, p. 535.

for

for having him thrown into the Tower on ſome pre- CHAP. XL.
tence or other [q], ſhe never gave him ſuch unlimited 1569.
confidence as might enable him entirely to cruſh his adverſaries.

NORFOLK, ſenſible of the difficulty, which he muſt meet with in controuling Cecil's counſels, eſpecially where they concurred with the inclination, as well as intereſt of the queen, durſt not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded ſtill in the ſame courſe, of encreaſing his intereſt in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his meaſures. A letter was written to Mary by Leiceſter, and ſigned by ſeveral of the firſt rank, recommending Norfolk for her huſband, and ſtipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that ſhe ſhould give ſufficient ſurety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould be made between their realms and ſubjects; that the proteſtant religion ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law in Scotland; and that ſhe ſhould grant an amneſty to her rebels in that kingdom [r]. When Mary returned a favourable anſwer to this application, Norfolk employed himſelf with new ardour in the execution of his project; and beſides ſecuring the intereſts of many of the conſiderable gentry and nobility who reſided at court, he wrote letters to ſuch as lived at their country ſeats, and poſſeſſed the greateſt authority in the ſeveral counties [s]. The kings of France and Spain, who intereſted themſelves extremely in Mary's cauſe, were ſecretly conſulted, and expreſſed their approbation of theſe meaſures [t]. And though Elizabeth's conſent was always ſuppoſed as a previous condition to the finiſhing of this alliance, it was

[q] Camden, p. 417. [r] Leſley, p. 50. Camden, p. 420. Haynes, p. 535, 539. [s] Leſley, p. 62. [t] Ibid. p 63.

apparently

CHAP. XL. 1569.

apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded ſuch lengths without conſulting her, to render his party ſo ſtrong, that it ſhould no longer be in her power to refuſe it [u].

It was impoſſible, that ſo extenſive a conſpiracy could entirely eſcape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped ſeveral intimations to the duke, by which he might learn, that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head [w]: But he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her firſt by Leiceſter, then by Murray [x], who, if ever he was ſincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt propoſed, for his own ſafety and that of his party, that Elizabeth ſhould, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and ſhould not have her conſent extorted by any confederacy of her own ſubjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more ſo, as thoſe intrigues were attended with other circumſtances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry, that ſeemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealouſly attached to the catholic religion, who had no other deſign than that of reſtoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of

[u] State Trials, vol. i. p. 82. [w] Camden, p. 420. Spotſwood, p. 231.

[x] Leſley, p. 71. It appears by Haynes, p. 521, 525. that queen Elizabeth had heard rumours of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did. See alſo the earl of Murray's letter produced on Norfolk's trial.

Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who poſſeſſed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland or any other place, to which ſhe ſhould think proper to retire [y]. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, ſons of the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Rolſtone, and other gentlemen, whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary reſided, concurred in the ſame views; and required, that, in order to facilitate the execution of the ſcheme, a diverſion ſhould, in the mean time, be made from the ſide of Flanders [z]. Norfolk diſcouraged, and even in appearance ſuppreſſed, theſe conſpiracies; both becauſe his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpoſe by rebellion, and becauſe he foreſaw, that, if the queen of Scots came into the poſſeſſion of theſe men, they would rather chuſe for her huſband the king of Spain, or ſome foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion [a]. 1569.

WHEN men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprizes, they are commonly ſo unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their deſigns and their remorſes, their fear of puniſhment and their hope of pardon, they render themſelves an eaſy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repreſs the ſurmiſes ſpread againſt him, ſpoke contemptuouſly to Elizabeth of the Scottiſh alliance; affirmed that his eſtate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom waſted by civil wars and factions; and declared, that, when he amuſed himſelf in his own tennis-

[y] Leſley, p. 76. [z] Ibid. p. 93. [a] Ibid. p. 77.

CHAP. XL. 1569.

court at Norwich amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was fully contented with his condition [b]. Finding, that he did not convince her by these asseverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the ministers, he retired to his country-seat without taking leave [c]. He soon after repented of this measure, and set out on his return to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Alban's by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided [d]. He was soon after committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil [e]. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots's ambassador, was examined and confronted with Norfolk before the council [f]. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house: Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself, was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

Insurrections in the north.

A RUMOUR had been diffused in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Sussex, president of York, alarmed with the danger, sent for Northumberland and Westmoreland, in order to examine them; but not finding any proof against them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily; and many appearances of its reality being discovered, orders were dispatched by Elizabeth to these two noblemen, to appear at court, and answer for their conduct [g]. They had already proceeded so far in their criminal designs, that they dared not to trust themselves in her

[b] Camden, p. 420. [c] Haynes, p. 528. [d] Ibid. p. 539. [e] Camden, p. 421, Haynes, p. 540. [f] Lesley, p. 80. [g] Haynes, p. 552.

hands;

hands: They had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers [h]; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promise of a reinforcement of troops, and of a supply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to send over to London Chiapini Vitelli, one of his most famous captains, on pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen, but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The summons, sent to the two earls, precipitated the rising before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in suspence between opposite dangers, when he was informed, that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to arrest him. He took horse instantly, and hastened to his associate Westmoreland, whom he found surrounded with his friends and vassals, and deliberating with regard to the measures, which he should follow in the present emergence. They determined to begin the insurrection without delay; and the great credit of these two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They published a manifesto, in which they maintained, that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; and that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour [i]. Their number amounted to four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England [k].

[h] Haynes, p. 595. Strype, vol. ii. append. p. 30. MS. in the Advocates' Library from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9. [i] Cabala, p. 169. Strype, vol. i. p. 547. [k] Stowe, p. 663.

CHAP. XL. 1569.

THE queen was not negligent in her own defence, and she had beforehand, from her prudent and wise conduct, acquired the general good will of her people, the best security of a sovereign; insomuch that even the catholics in most counties expressed an affection for her service [l]; and the duke of Norfolk himself, though he had lost her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his situation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Sussex attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched against the rebels at the head of seven thousand men, and found them already advanced to the bishopric of Durham, of which they had taken possession. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwic and lord Clinton were advancing against them with a greater body, they found no other resource than to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses: The leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found skulking in that country, and was confined by Murray to the castle of Lochlevin. Westmoreland received shelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partizans of Mary; and persuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This sudden and precipitate rebellion was followed soon after by another still more imprudent, raised by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunsdon, at the head of the garrison of Berwic, was able, without any other assistance, to quell these rebels. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprizes. Sixty-six petty constables were hanged [m]; and no less than eight hundred persons are said, on the

[l] Cabala, p. 170. Digges, p. 4.

[m] Camden, p. 423.

whole,

whole, to have suffered by the hands of the executioner [n]. But the queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some shew of confinement, in his own house; and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any farther in his negociations with the queen of Scots [o]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

ELIZABETH now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill consequences, which she had foreseen, when she first embraced that measure. This latter princess, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium, into which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwel, had behaved with such modesty, and judgment, and even dignity, that every one, who approached her, was charmed with her demeanor; and her friends were enabled, on some plausible grounds, to deny the reality of all those crimes, which had been imputed to her [p]. Compassion for her situation, and the necessity of effecting her relief, proved an incitement among all her partizans to be active in promoting her cause; and as her delivery from captivity, it was thought, could no wise be effected but by attempts dangerous to the established government, Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands. But as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princess to enjoy her liberty, and to seek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to support the measure which she had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, against the mischiefs, to which it was exposed. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between the queen

[n] Lesley, p. 82. [o] Ibid. p. 98. Camden, p. 429. Haynes, p. 597. [p] Lesley, p. 232. Haynes, p. 511, 548.

CHAP. XL. 1569.

and her enemies in Scotland, negociated perpetually concerning the terms of her reſtoration, made conſtant profeſſions of friendſhip to her; and by theſe artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any deſperate efforts for her delivery, and to ſatisfy the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who never intermitted their ſolicitations, ſometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the ſame deceit by the queen of Scots: Profeſſions of confidence were returned by profeſſions equally inſincere: And while an appearance of friendſhip was maintained on both ſides, the animoſity and jealouſy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. Theſe two princeſſes, in addreſs, capacity, activity, and ſpirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, beſides her preſent forlorn condition, was always inferior in perſonal conduct and diſcretion, as well as in power, to her illuſtrious rival.

ELIZABETH and Mary wrote at the ſame time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots deſired, that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary ſhould be reſtored to her dignity on certain terms; that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon, and the adminiſtration remain in the regent's hands, till the young prince ſhould come to years of diſcretion; or that ſhe ſhould be allowed to live at liberty as a private perſon in Scotland, and have an honourable ſettlement made in her favour [q]. Murray ſummoned a convention of ſtates, in order to deliberate on theſe propoſals of the two queens. No anſwer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that ſhe had there employed the ſtyle of a ſovereign,

[q] MSS. in the Advocates' Library. A. 329. p. 137. from Cott. Lib. catal. c. 1.

addreſſing

addreſſing herſelf to her ſubjects; but in reality, becauſe they ſaw that her requeſt was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or ſome powerful prince, who could ſupport her cauſe, and reſtore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were ſo derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not ſo much as deliberate concerning them: The third alone could be the ſubject of treaty. It was evident, that Elizabeth, in propoſing conditions ſo unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refuſal of thoſe which were moſt advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to adjuſt all the terms of the third, ſo as to render it ſecure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that ſhe was not ſincere in any of them [r]. CHAP. XL. 1569.

IT is pretended, that Murray had entered into a private negociation with the queen, to get Mary delivered into his hands [s]; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England ſo dangerous, it is probable, that ſhe would have been pleaſed, on any honourable or ſafe terms, to rid herſelf of a priſoner who gave her ſo much inquietude [t]. But all theſe projects vaniſhed by the ſudden death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a perſon of conſiderable vigour, ability, and conſtancy; but though he was not unſucceſsful, during his regency, in compoſing the diſſentions in Scotland, his talents ſhone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and auſtere; and he poſſeſſed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character. 1570. 23 January. Aſſaſſination of the earl of Murray.

[r] Spotſwood, p. 230, 231. Leſley, p. 71. [s] Camden, p. 425. Leſley, p. 83. [t] See note [O] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. XL.

1570. By the death of the regent, Scotland relapſed into anarchy. Mary's party aſſembled together, and made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh. The caſtle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, ſeemed to favour her cauſe; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that ſide, it became probable, though the people were in general averſe to her, that her authority might again acquire the aſcendant. To check its progreſs, Elizabeth diſpatched Suſſex, with an army, to the North, under colour of chaſtizing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waſte the lands of the Kers and Scots, ſeized the caſtle of Hume, and committed hoſtilities on all Mary's partizans, who, he ſaid, had offended his miſtreſs, by harbouring the Engliſh rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards ſent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houſes of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in the ſame faction. The Engliſh armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promiſed, in return, that no French troops ſhould be introduced into Scotland, and that the Engliſh rebels ſhould be delivered up to the queen by her partizans [u].

But though the queen, covering herſelf with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, ſo far contributed to ſupport the party of the young king of Scots, ſhe was cautious not to declare openly againſt Mary; and ſhe even ſent a requeſt, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princeſs not to elect, during ſome time, a regent in the place of Murray [w]. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was, therefore, choſen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partizans, inſtead of delivering up Weſtmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promiſed, had allowed them to eſcape into Flanders; ſhe

[u] Leſley, p. 91. [w] Spotſwood, p. 240.

permitted

permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of regent [x], and ſhe ſent Randolf, as her reſident, to maintain a correſpondence with him. But notwithſtanding this ſtep, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, ſhe never laid aſide her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the pretenſions of amity to that princeſs. Being importuned by the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe twice procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means ſtopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the oppoſite party [y]. By theſe ſeeming contrarieties ſhe kept alive the factions in Scotland, encreaſed their mutual animoſity, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of devaſtation and of miſery [z]. She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and conſequently no intereſt or deſign to inſtigate the parties againſt each other; but this conſequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which ſhe was engaged, as far as poſſible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendſhip with her, at leaſt thoſe of neutrality [a].

The better to amuſe Mary with the proſpect of an accommodation, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay were ſent to her with propoſals from Elizabeth. The terms were ſomewhat rigorous, ſuch as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of ſincerity on the part of the Engliſh court. It was required, that the queen of Scots, beſides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the life-time of Elizabeth, ſhould make a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, between the kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould marry no Engliſhman without Elizabeth's con-

[x] Spotſwood, p. 241. [y] Ibid. p. 243. [z] Crawford, p. 136.
[a] See note [P] at the end of the volume.

ſent,

CHAP. XL. 1570.

sent, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland; that redress should be made for the late ravages committed in England; that justice should be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other fortress, for the security of performance [b]. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promised to contribute her endeavours towards the restoration of the deposed queen. The necessity of Mary's affairs obliged her to consent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when consulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any assistance [c].

ELIZABETH's commissioners proposed also to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; and after some reasoning on that head, it was agreed, that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send up commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partizans of Mary boasted, that all terms were fully settled with the court of England, and that the Scottish rebels would soon be constrained to submit to the authority of their sovereign: But Elizabeth took care that these rumours should meet with no credit, and that the king's party should not be discouraged, nor sink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's proposals, so far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be discussed anew in the conference; and desired him to send commissioners who should be constant in the king's cause,

[b] Spotswood, p. 245. Lesley, p. 101.

[c] Lesley, p. 109, &c.

and

and cautious not to make conceſſions which might be pre- CHAP. XL.
judicial to their party [d]. Suſſex alſo, in his letters, drop- 1570.
ped hints to the ſame purpoſe; and Elizabeth herſelf ſaid to the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had ſent to the court of England, that ſhe would not inſiſt on Mary's reſtoration, provided the Scots could make the juſtice of their cauſe appear to her ſatisfaction; and that, even if their reaſons ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, ſhe would take effectual care to provide for their future ſecurity [e].

THE parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Mor- 1571.
ton, and Sir James Macgill, together with the abbot of 1ſt March.
Dunfermling to manage the treaty. Theſe commiſſioners firſt preſented memorials, containing reaſons for the depoſition of their queen; and they ſeconded their reaſons with examples drawn from the Scottiſh hiſtory, with the authority of laws, and with the ſentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas, which Elizabeth had entertained of the abſolute, indefeizable right of ſovereigns, made her be ſhocked with theſe republican topics; and ſhe told the Scottiſh commiſſioners, that ſhe was no-wiſe ſatisfied with their reaſons for juſtifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions, which they required for their ſecurity [f]. They replied, that their commiſſion did not empower them to treat of any terms, which might infringe the title and ſovereignty of their young king; but they would gladly hear whatever propoſals ſhould be made them by her majeſty. The conditions, recommended by the queen, were not diſadvantageous to Mary; but as the commiſſioners ſtill inſiſted, that they were not authorized to treat in any manner, concerning the reſtoration of that princeſs [g], the

[d] Spotſwood, p. 245. [e] Ibid. p. 247, 248. [f] Ibid. p. 248, 249. [g] Haynes, p. 623.

conferences

CHAP. XL. 1571.

conferences were neceſſarily at an end; and Elizabeth diſmiſſed the Scottiſh commiſſioners with injunctions, that they ſhould return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament [h]. The biſhop of Roſs openly complained to the Engliſh council, that they had abuſed his miſtreſs by fair promiſes and profeſſions; and Mary herſelf was no longer at a loſs to judge of Elizabeth's inſincerity. By reaſon of theſe diſappointments, matters came ſtill nearer to extremity between the two princeſſes; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more ſtrongly incited to make, at all hazards, every poſſible attempt for her liberty and ſecurity.

An incident alſo happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to encreaſe the vigilance and jealouſy of the latter princeſs. Pope Pius V. who had ſucceeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had irritated, iſſued at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance [i]. It ſeems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a meaſure which was at that time in agitation [k]. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace; and ſcorning either to fly or deny the fact, he was ſeized, and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he ſeems to have entertained ſo violent an ambition [l].

[h] Spotſwood, p. 249, 250, &c. Leſley, p. 133, 136. Camden, p. 431, 432. [i] Camden, p. 427. [k] Ibid. p. 441, from Cajetanus's life of Pius V. [l] Camden, p. 428.

CHAP. XL.

1571. 2d of April. A parliament.

A NEW parliament, after five years' interval, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope againſt her, was become ſtill more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houſes would be abſolutely uncontroulable. It was ſo in fact; yet is it remarkable, that it prevailed not without ſome ſmall oppoſition; and that too ariſing chiefly from the height of zeal for proteſtantiſm; a diſpoſition of the Engliſh, which, in general, contributed extremely to encreaſe the queen's popularity. We ſhall be ſomewhat particular in relating the tranſactions of this ſeſſion, becauſe they ſhow, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth and the genius of her government. It will be curious alſo to obſerve the faint dawnings of the ſpirit of liberty among the Engliſh, the jealouſy with which that ſpirit was repreſſed by the ſovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in oppoſition to it, and the eaſe with which it was ſubdued by this arbitrary princeſs.

THE lord keeper, Bacon, after the ſpeaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that ſhe enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of ſtate [m]: Such was his expreſſion; by which he probably meant, the queſtions of the queen's marriage and the ſucceſſion, about which they had before given her ſome uneaſineſs: For as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negociations; no parliament in that age ever preſumed to take them under conſideration, or queſtion, in theſe particulars, the conduct of their ſovereign, or of his miniſters.

IN the former parliament, the puritans had introduced ſeven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they

[m] D'Ewes, p. 141.

had

CHAP. XL.

1571.

had not been able to prevail in any one of them [n]. This house of commons had sat a very few days, when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy [o]. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the sign of the cross in baptism. Another member added, the kneeling at the sacrament; and remarked, that, if a posture of humiliation was requisite in that act of devotion, it were better, that the communicants should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition [p].

RELIGION was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended, that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions, which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration [q]. The courtiers did not forget to insist on this topic: The treasurer of the household, though he allowed, that any heresy might be repressed by parliament, (a concession which seems to have been rash and unguarded; since the act, investing the crown with the supremacy, or rather recognizing that prerogative, gave the sovereign full power to reform all heresies) yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship [r]. The comptroller seconded this argument; insisted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and said, that the house might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with such matters. One Pistor opposed these remonstrances of the courtiers. He was scandalized, he said, that affairs of

[n] D'Ewes, p. 185. [o] Ibid. p. 156, 157. [p] Ibid. p. 167.
[q] Ibid. p. 158. [r] Ibid. p. 166.

such infinite consequence (namely, kneeling and making the sign of the cross) should be passed over so lightly. These questions, he added, concern the salvation of souls, and interest every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cause he shewed to be the cause of God; the rest were all but terrene, yea trifles in comparison, call them ever so great: Subsidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had, when laid in the balance with subjects of such unspeakable importance [s]. Though the zeal of this member seems to have been highly approved of, the house, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the question, that a petition should be presented to her majesty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and in the mean time, that they should stop all debate or reasoning concerning it [t]. CHAP. XL. 1571.

MATTERS would probably have rested here, had not the queen been so highly offended with Stricland's presumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that she summoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the house of commons [u]. That act of power was too violent even for this submissive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the house were invaded; observed that Stricland was not a private man, but represented a multitude; and moved, that he might be sent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might answer for it at the bar of the house, which he insinuated to be the only competent tribunal [w]. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with still greater boldness. He said, that the precedent was dangerous: And though in this happy time of lenity, among so many good and honourable personages as were at present invested with authority, nothing of extremity or

[s] D'Ewes, p. 166. [t] Ibid, p. 167. [u] Ibid, p. 175.
[w] Ibid.

injury

CHAP. XL. 1571.

injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what now is permitted, might hereafter be conſtrued as duty, and might be enforced even on the ground of the preſent permiſſion. He added, that all matters not treaſonable, or which implied *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every queſtion that concerned the community muſt be conſidered, and where even the right of the crown itſelf muſt finally be determined. He remarked, that men ſat not in that houſe in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper, that the prince ſhould retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: As the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority [x].

THESE principles were popular, and noble and generous; but the open aſſertion of them was, at that time, ſomewhat new in England: And the courtiers were more warranted by preſent practice, when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treaſurer warned the houſe to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their aſſured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majeſty in any doubtful cauſe. The member, he ſaid, whoſe attendance they required, was not reſtrained on account of any liberty of ſpeech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the houſe againſt the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with obſerving, that even ſpeeches, made in that houſe, had been queſtioned and examined by the ſovereign [y]. Cleere, another member, remarked, that the ſovereign's prerogative is not ſo much as diſputable, and that the ſafety of the queen is the ſafety of the ſubject. He added, that, in queſtions of divinity, every man was for his inſtruction to repair to his ordinary; and

[x] D'Ewes, p. 175, 176. [y] Ibid. p. 175.

he

he seems to insinuate, that the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen[z]. Fleetwood observed, that, in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the present queen, had been called to account for a speech in the house. But lest this example should be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a bishop was committed to prison by the king's command, on account of his freedom of speech; and the parliament presumed not to go farther than to be humble suitors for him: In the subsequent reign the speaker himself was committed, with another member; and the house found no other remedy than a like submissive application. He advised the house to have recourse to the same expedient; and not to presume either to send for their member, or demand him as of right[a]. During this speech, those members of the privy-council who sat in the house, whispered together; upon which the speaker moved, that the house should make stay of all farther proceedings: A motion, which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment, which she had made, was likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the house; and lest the question might be resumed, she sent next day to Stricland her permission to give his attendance in parliament[b].

CHAP. XL. 1571.

NOTWITHSTANDING this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the commons still engaged them to continue the discussion of those other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a still more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condescended to be her instrument. This house sent a message to the commons, desiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were accordingly appointed for that purpose; and the upper house informed them, that the

[z] D'Ewes, p. 175. [a] Ibid. p. 176. [b] Idem ibid.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

queen's majesty, being informed of the articles of reformation which they had canvassed, approved of them, intended to publish them, and to make the bishops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as supreme head of the church of England: But that she would not permit them to be treated of in parliament [c]. The house, though they did not entirely stop proceedings on account of this injunction, seem to have been nowise offended at such haughty treatment; and in the issue all the bills came to nothing.

A MOTION, made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in Bristol [d], gave also occasion to several remarkable incidents. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent her orders by the mouth of the speaker, commanding the house to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. All the members understood, that she had been offended, because a matter had been moved, which seemed to touch her prerogative [e]. Fleetwood accordingly spoke of this delicate subject. He observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to question the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subjected to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute, which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book to prove, that no man might speak in parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave licence; because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He shewed likewise the statutes of Edward I. Edward III.

[c] D'Ewes, p. 180, 185. [d] Ibid. p. 185. [e] Ibid. p. 159.

and

and Henry IV. with a saving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI.'s time, the protector was applied to, for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative [f]. CHAP. XL. 1571.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, the gallant and renowned sea-adventurer, carried these topics still farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which whoever should attempt so much as in fancy, could not, he said, be otherwise accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between saying, that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen? And though experience has shewn so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make the subjects forget their duty; it is not good to sport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all horned beasts should depart the court, immediately fled, lest his ears should be construed to be horns; and by this apologue he seems to insinuate, that even those who heard or permitted such dangerous speeches, would not themselves be entirely free from danger. He desired them to beware, lest, if they meddled farther with these matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship [g].

THOUGH this speech gave some disgust, no body, at the time, replied any thing, but that Sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion: They never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. But in a subsequent debate,

[f] D'Ewes, p. 160. [g] Ibid. p. 168.

CHAP. XL.

1571. Peter Wentworth, a man of a ſuperior free ſpirit, called that ſpeech an inſult on the houſe; noted Sir Humphrey's diſpoſition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to the cameleon, which can change itſelf into all colours, except white; and recommended to the houſe, a due care of liberty of ſpeech; and of the privileges of parliament [h]. It appears, on the whole, that the motion againſt the excluſive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who firſt introduced it, was ſent for by the council, and was ſeverely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the houſe with ſuch an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reaſon, were ſtruck with terror; and during ſome time, no one durſt riſe to ſpeak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were ſomewhat abated, the members ſpoke with extreme precaution; and by employing moſt of their diſcourſe in preambles and apologies, they ſhewed their conſcious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever ſo gently; nay ſeemed to be approached, though at ever ſo great a diſtance, the whiſper ran about the houſe, "The queen will be offended; the council will be extremely diſpleaſed:" And by theſe ſurmizes men were warned of the danger, to which they expoſed themſelves. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with ſuch imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of her induſtrious ſubjects [i].

29th May. THUS, every thing, which paſſed the two houſes, was extremely reſpectful and ſubmiſſive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to check, and that with great ſeverity, thoſe feeble

[h] D'Ewes, p. 175. [i] Ibid. p. 242.

efforts

efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and speeches of some members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majesty's name, that, though the majority of the lower house had shewn themselves, in their proceedings, discreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had discovered a contrary character, and had justly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous: Contrary to their duty, both as subjects and parliament-men, nay contrary to the express injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the session; injunctions, which it might well become them to have better attended to; they had presumed to call in question her majesty's grants and prerogatives. But her majesty warns them, that, since they will thus wilfully forget themselves, they are otherwise to be admonished: Some other species of correction must be found for them; since neither the commands of her majesty, nor the example of their wiser brethren, can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what nowise belongs to them, and what lies not within the compass of their understanding [k]. CHAP. XL. 1571.

In all these transactions appears clearly the opinion, which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvass any matters of state: Still less were they to meddle with the church. Questions of either kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to those councils and ministers, with whom he was pleased to entrust them. What then was the office of parliaments? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preservation of pheasants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the punishment of vagabonds or common beggars. Regulations concerning the police of the

[k] D'Ewes, p. 151.

CHAP. XL. 1571. country came properly under their inſpection; and the laws of this kind, which they preſcribed, had, if not a greater, yet a more durable authority, than thoſe which were derived ſolely from the proclamations of the ſovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for deciſions in private property, or the puniſhment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal law could proceed from any other ſource than the parliament; nor would the courts of juſtice be induced to change their eſtabliſhed practice by an order of council. But the moſt acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of ſubſidies; the attainting and puniſhing of the obnoxious nobility, or any miniſter of ſtate after his fall; the countenancing of ſuch great efforts of power, as might be deemed ſomewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the ſovereign. The redreſs of grievances was ſometimes promiſed to the people, but ſeldom could have place, while it was an eſtabliſhed rule, that the prerogatives of the crown muſt not be abridged, or ſo much as queſtioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies and excluſive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day encreaſing, to the deſtruction of all liberty, and extinction of all induſtry; it was criminal in a member to propoſe, in the moſt dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application againſt any of them.

THESE maxims of government were not kept ſecret by Elizabeth, or ſmoothed over by any fair appearances or plauſible pretences. They were openly avowed in her ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtineſs, nay ſometimes bitterneſs, of expreſſion, which the meaneſt ſervant could look for from his offended maſter. Yet notwithſtanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the moſt popular ſovereign that ever ſwayed the ſcepter of England; becauſe the

the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion, generally entertained with regard to the conſtitution. The continued encroachments of popular aſſemblies on Elizabeth's ſucceſſors have ſo changed our ideas in theſe matters, that the paſſages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at firſt ſurpriſing; but they were ſo little remarked, during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other hiſtorian, has taken any notice of them. So abſolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious ſpark of liberty had been kindled, and was preſerved, by the puritans alone; and it was to this ſect, whoſe principles appear ſo frivolous and habits ſo ridiculous, that the Engliſh owe the whole freedom of their conſtitution. Actuated by that zeal which belongs to innovators, and by the courage which enthuſiaſm inſpires, they hazarded the utmoſt indignation of their ſovereign; and employing all their induſtry to be elected into parliament; a matter not difficult, while a ſeat was rather regarded as a burthen than an advantage [1]; they firſt acquired a majority in that aſſembly, and then obtained an aſcendant over the church and monarchy.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

THE following were the principal laws enacted this ſeſſion. It was declared treaſon, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign, or that any other poſſeſſed a preferable title, or that ſhe was a heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the laws and ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the ſucceſſor thereof: To maintain in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon and all his abettors, for the firſt of-

[1] It appeared this ſeſſion, that a bribe of four pounds had been given to a mayor for a ſeat in parliament. D'Ewes, p. 181. It is probable, that the member had no other view than the privilege of being free from arreſts.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

fence, to imprisonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: The second offence subjected them to the penalty of a premunire [m]. This law was plainly leveled against the queen of Scots and her partizans; and implied an avowal, that Elizabeth never intended to declare her successor. It may be noted, that the usual phrase of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was the source of pleasantry during the time; and some persons suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's demise, to produce some bastard of his own, and affirm that he was her offspring [n].

It was also enacted, that whosoever by bulls should publish absolutions or other rescripts of the pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, such offenders, as well as those who were so reconciled, should be guilty of treason. The penalty of a premunire was imposed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, consecrated by the pope [o]. The former laws against usury, were enforced by a new statute [p]. A supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as she was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious of asking them for any supply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown, or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth possessed such uncontrouled authority over her parliaments, and such extensive influence

[m] 13 Eliz. c. 1. [n] Camden, p. 436. [o] 13 Eliz. c. 2.
[p] Ibid. c. 8.

over

over her people; though during a course of thirteen years, she had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the hasty and ill-concerted insurrection in the north; she was still kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions, excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, seemed in one view to secure her against any disturbance; but they served, on more reflection, to instruct her in the danger of her situation, when she remarked, that England, no less than these neighbouring countries, contained the seeds of intestine discord; the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animosity of the opposite sectaries. CHAP. XL. 1571.

Civil wars of France.

THE league, formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the protestants, had not been concluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding, that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely united, as well by their religious zeal, as by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed with entire submission the orders of their leaders, and were ready on every signal to fly to arms. The king and queen mother were living in great security at Monceaux in Brie; when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiss come hastily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of

St.

CHAP. XL.

1571. St. Dennis; where, though the old conſtable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken troops, and receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from the German proteſtants, appeared again in the field; and laying ſiege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animoſity of thoſe religioniſts, that even had the leaders on both ſides been ever ſo ſincere in their intentions for peace, and repoſed ever ſo much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where ſuch extreme jealouſy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a ſnare for their enemies. A plan was laid for ſeizing the perſon of the prince and admiral; who narrowly eſcaped to Rochelle, and ſummoned their partizans to their aſſiſtance[a]. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became ſtill more exaſperated againſt each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought in 1569 a great battle at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed, and his army defeated. This diſcomfiture, with the loſs of ſo great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to deſpair. The admiral ſtill ſupported the cauſe; and having placed at the head of the proteſtants the prince of Navarre, then ſixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to periſh bravely in the field, than ignominiouſly by the hands of the executioner. He collected ſuch numbers, ſo determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head againſt the duke of

[a] Davila, lib. 4.

Anjou;

Anjou; and being ſtrengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat and to divide his forces. CHAP. XL. 1571.

COLIGNI then laid ſiege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprize, the duke of Guiſe, emulous of the renown, which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into the place, and ſo animated the garriſon by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Such was the commencement of that unrivaled fame and grandeur, afterwards attained by this duke of Guiſe. The attachment, which all the catholics had borne to his father, was immediately transferred to the ſon; and men pleaſed themſelves in comparing all the great and ſhining qualities, which ſeemed, in a manner, hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in addreſs, in eloquence, and in every quality, which engages the affections of men; equal alſo in valour, in conduct, in enterprize, in capacity; there ſeemed only this difference between them, that the ſon, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater diſſolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterprizes ſtill more deſtructive to the authority of his ſovereign and to the repoſe of his native country.

ELIZABETH, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowiſe pleaſed with this new riſe of her enemies, the Guiſes; and being anxious for the fate of the proteſtants, whoſe intereſts were connected with her own[r], ſhe was engaged, notwithſtanding her averſion from all rebellion, and from all oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign, to give them ſecretly ſome aſſiſtance. Beſides employing her authority with the German princes, ſhe lent money to the queen of Navarre,

[r] Haynes, p. 471.

and

CHAP. XL. 1571.

and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. And she permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and transport over into France, a regiment of an hundred gentlemen voluntiers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself, in that great school of military valour [s]. The admiral, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, vainly flattered themselves, that the force of the rebels was at last finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprized to hear, that this leader had appeared, without dismay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to equal constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even strong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprizes, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme animosity against the hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience.

THOUGH a pacification was seemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was no wise reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare, by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the ad-

[s] Camden, p. 423.

miral,

miral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security, at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels, which seemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiously observed to them; the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts, made by the zealous catholics to infringe it, were punished with severity; offices, and favours, and honours were bestowed on the principal nobility among the protestants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion. CHAP. XL. 1571.

Among the other artifices, employed to lull the protestants into a fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connections with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself, that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be supposed to recommend him to a woman, who had appeared not altogether insensible to these endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, she laid herself the more open to be deceived. Negociations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed; difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insincere, though not equally culpable, seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The great

obstacle

CHAP. XL. 1571.

obſtacle ſeemed to lie in adjuſting the difference of religion; becauſe Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her huſband; and the duke of Anjou ſeemed unwilling to ſubmit, for the ſake of intereſt, to the diſhonour of an apoſtacy [t].

THE artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed ſo much in any contrivances as in thoſe which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought, that they might, without danger of forming any final concluſion, venture the farther in their conceſſions and offers to her. The queen alſo had other motives for diſſimulation. Beſides the advantage of diſcouraging Mary's partizans by the proſpect of an alliance between France and England, her ſituation with Philip demanded her utmoſt vigilance and attention; and the violent authority, eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, made her deſirous of fortifying herſelf even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

Affairs of the Low Countries.

THE theological controverſies, which had long agitated Europe, had from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and as theſe provinces maintained an extenſive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom, with which they correſponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealouſly propagated by prieſts, and implicitly received by ſovereigns, that hereſy was cloſely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the ſtate and civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would ſeldom allow them to wait the conſent of the magiſtrate to their innovations: They became leſs

[t] Camden, p. 433. Davila, lib. 5. Digges's Complete Ambaſſador, p. 84, 110, 111.

dutiful

dutiful when oppoſed and puniſhed: And though their pretended ſpirit of reaſoning and enquiry was in reality nothing but a new ſpecies of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm; as if no inſtitutions could be ſecure from the temerity of their reſearches. The emperor Charles, who propoſed to augment his authority under pretence of defending the catholic faith, eaſily adopted theſe political principles; and notwithſtanding the limited prerogative, which he poſſeſſed in the Netherlands, he publiſhed the moſt arbitrary, ſevere, and tyrannical edicts againſt the proteſtants; and he took care that the execution of them ſhould be no leſs violent and ſanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigotted in his natural diſpoſition; yet an hiſtorian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed, that, in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by that monarch, no leſs than an hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by the hands of the executioner[u]. But theſe ſevere remedies, ſo far from anſwering the purpoſes intended, had rather ſerved to augment the numbers as well as zeal of the reformers; and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, ſeeing no end of thoſe barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel againſt their principles, and declined any farther perſecution of the new doctrines.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

When Philip ſucceeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were juſtly alarmed with new apprehenſions; leſt their prince, obſerving the lenity of the magiſtrates, ſhould take the execution of the edicts from ſuch remiſs hands, and ſhould eſtabliſh the inquiſition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The ſevere and unrelenting character of the man, his profeſſed attachment to Spaniſh manners, the inflexible bigotry of his princi-

[u] Grotii Annal. lib. 1. Father Paul, another great authority, computes, in a paſſage above cited, that 50,000 perſons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

ples; all these circumstances encreased their terror: And when he departed the Netherlands, with a declared intention never to return, the disgust of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of those tyrannical orders, which their sovereign, surrounded with Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the dutchess of Parma governess of the Low Countries; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been entrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics, on which Philip so highly valued himself. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the dutchess; that Cardinal Granville entirely possessed the King's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy. The discontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men showed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, tumultuary petitions presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal, and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that, in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most unwarrantable disorders.

THE wiser part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which their own discontents had

had at first given countenance; and seconding the wisdom of the governess, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, punished the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not contented with the re-establishment of his ancient authority: He considered, that provinces, so remote from the seat of government, could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who must entreat rather than command, would necessarily, when he resided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular disorders as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority. CHAP. XL. 1571.

In the execution of this violent design, he employed a man, who was a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidst arms; and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the severe discipline of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation. It belongs not to our subject to relate at length those violences, which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It suffices to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their

CHAP. XL. 1571.

great merits and paſt ſervices, brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner: And notwithſtanding the peaceable ſubmiſſion of all men, nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture, and death.

ELIZABETH was equally diſpleaſed to ſee the progreſs of that ſcheme, laid for the extermination of the proteſtants, and to obſerve the erection of ſo great a military power, in a ſtate ſituated in ſo near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemiſh exiles who took ſhelter in her dominions; and as many of theſe were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, ſhe reaped the advantage of introducing into England ſome uſeful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreſeeing that the violent government of Alva could not long ſubſiſt without exciting ſome commotion, ſhe ventured to commit an inſult upon him, which ſhe would have been cautious not to hazard againſt a more eſtabliſhed authority. Some Genoeſe merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to tranſport into Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and the veſſels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken ſhelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ſhips pretended, that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding, upon enquiry, that it was the property of Genoeſe merchants, took poſſeſſion of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this reſource in the time of his greateſt neceſſity. Alva, in revenge, ſeized all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into priſon, and confiſcated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the

Flemiſh

Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants; and gave all the Engliſh liberty to make reprizals on the ſubjects of Philip. CHAP. XL. 1571.

THESE differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: But nothing could repair the loſs, which ſo well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spaniſh government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, impoſed by his arbitrary will the moſt ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: He alſo demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every ſale; an abſurd tyranny, which would not only have deſtroyed all arts and commerce, but even have reſtrained the common intercourſe of life. The people refuſed compliance: The duke had recourſe to his uſual expedient of hanging: And thus matters came ſtill nearer the laſt extremity between the Flemings and the Spaniards [w].

ALL the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themſelves for her inſults, had naturally recourſe to one policy, the ſupporting of the cauſe and pretenſions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whoſe meaſures were ever violent, ſoon opened a ſecret intercourſe with that princeſs. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the intrigues of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry [x]. He had been thrown into priſon at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been diſcovered; but either no proof was found againſt him, or the part which he had acted, was not very criminal; and he ſoon after

New conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk.

[w] Bentivoglio, part I. lib. v. Camden, 416. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87.

[x] Leſley, p. 123.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

recovered his liberty. This man, zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a ſcheme, in concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government, by a foreign invaſion and a domeſtic inſurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary, he found, that, as ſhe was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and deſpaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, ſhe willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of diſcontented catholics were the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; and they alſo obſerved, that the kingdom was, at that time, full of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who, having at preſent, by the late decay of the church, and the yet languiſhing ſtate of commerce, no proſpect of a livelihood ſuitable to their birth, were ready to throw themſelves into any deſperate enterprize [y]. But in order to inſpire life and courage into all theſe malcontents, it was requiſite, that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

THIS nobleman, when releaſed from confinement in the Tower, had given his promiſe, that he would drop all intercourſe with the queen of Scots [z]; but finding that he had loſt, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being ſtill, in ſome degree, reſtrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correſpondence with the captive princeſs [a]. A promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts;

[y] Leſley, p. 123. [z] Haynes, p. 571. [a] State Trials, vol. i. p. 102.

and

and as his remorſes gradually diminiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was puſhed to give his conſent to enterprizes ſtill more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould, on ſome other pretence, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the Low Countries; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; ſhould thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever conditions the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her [b]. Norfolk expreſſed his aſſent to this plan; and three letters in conſequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the danger, refuſed to ſign them [c]. He only ſent to the Spaniſh ambaſſador a ſervant and confident, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of theſe letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, proceeded on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the ſcheme with alacrity: Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions [d]: And every thing ſeemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

NORFOLK, notwithſtanding theſe criminal enterprizes, had never entirely forgot his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he had laid the plan both of an invaſion and an inſurrection, he ſtill flattered himſelf, that the innocence of his intentions would juſtify the violence of his meaſures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and obtaining Elizabeth's conſent to his marriage, he

[b] Leſley, p. 155. State Trials, vol. i. p. 86, 87. [c] Leſley, p. 159, 161. Camden, p. 432. [d] State Trials, vol. i. p. 93.

CHAP. XL. 1571.

could not justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor[e]. It is certain, however, that, considering the queen's vigour and spirit, the scheme, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here exposed to the utmost danger.

THE conspiracy hitherto had entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at last to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Banniſter, a servant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to lord Herries[f]. He entrusted the money to a servant who was not in the secret, and told him, that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Banniſter with a letter: But the servant, conjecturing from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Banniſter, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture made them confess the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full evidence now appeared against his master[g]. Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in denying every crime, with which

[e] Lesley, p. 158. [f] Ibid. p. 169. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87. Camden, p. 434. Digges, p. 134, 137, 140. Strype, vol. ii. p. 82.
[g] Lesley, p. 173.

he

he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would have pardoned all his former offences [h]; but finding him obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been committed to cuſtody before the diſcovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his ſhare in the conſpiracy. He at firſt inſiſted on his privilege; but he was told, that, as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambaſſador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conſpiring againſt the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided [i]. As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, he was informed of the confeſſion made by Norfolk's ſervants; after which he no longer ſcrupled to make a full diſcovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all queſtion. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the ſtrict rules obſerved at preſent in theſe matters; except that the witneſſes gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the criminal: A laudable practice, which was not at that time obſerved in trials for high treaſon.

CHAP. XL.

1571.

1572. 12th Jan. Trial of Norfolk.

THE queen ſtill heſitated concerning Norfolk's execution; whether that ſhe was really moved by friendſhip and compaſſion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praiſe of clemency, ſhe only put on the appearance of theſe ſentiments. Twice ſhe ſigned a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal ſentence [k]; and though her miniſters and counſellors puſhed her

[h] Leſley, p. 175. [i] Ibid. p. 189. Spotſwood. [k] Carte, p. 527. from Fenelon's Diſpatches. Digges, p. 166. Strype, vol. ii. p. 83.

CHAP. XL.

to rigour, ſhe ſtill appeared irreſolute and undetermined. After four months heſitation, a parliament was aſſembled; and the commons addreſſed her, in ſtrong terms, for the execution of the duke; a ſanction, which, when added to the greatneſs and certainty of his guilt, would, ſhe thought, juſtify, in the eyes of all mankind, her ſeverity againſt that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he cleared himſelf of any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen's authority, he acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence, by which he ſuffered [l]. That we may relate together affairs of a like nature, we ſhall mention, that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was alſo, a few months after, brought to the ſcaffold for his rebellion.

1572. His execution. 8th May. 2d June.

THE queen of Scots was either the occaſion or the cauſe of all theſe diſturbances; but as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and might reaſonably, from the harſh treatment which ſhe had met with, think herſelf entitled to uſe any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durſt not, as yet, form any reſolution of proceeding to extremities againſt her. She only ſent lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilſon, to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for all thoſe parts of her conduct, which, from the beginning of her life, had given diſpleaſure to Elizabeth: Her aſſuming the arms of England, refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's conſent, concurring in the northern rebellion [m], practiſing with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invaſion of England [n], procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give

[l] Camden, p. 440. Strype, vol. ii. App. p. 23. [m] Digges, p. 16, 107. Strype, vol. ii. p. 51, 52. [n] Ibid. p. 194, 208, 209. Strype, vol. ii. p. 40, 51.

her

her the title of queen of England. Mary justified herself from the several articles of this charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others [o]. But the queen was little satisfied with her apology; and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed some topics derived from practice, and reason, and the laws of nations; but the chief stress was laid on passages and examples from the Old Testament [p], which, if considered as a general rule of conduct, (an intention which it is unreasonable to suppose) would lead to consequences destructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princess, satisfied with shewing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the house her express commands not to deal any farther at present in the affair of the Scottish queen [q]. Nothing could be a stronger proof, that the puritanical interest prevailed in the house, than the intemperate use of authorities derived from scripture, especially from the Old Testament; and the queen was so little a lover of that sect, that she was not likely to make any concession merely in deference to their solicitation. She shewed, this session, her disapprobation of their schemes in another remarkable instance. The commons had passed two bills, for regulating ecclesiastical ceremonies; but she sent them a like imperious message with her former ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, she stopped all farther proceeding in those matters [r].

CHAP. XL. 1572.

But though Elizabeth would not carry matters to such extremities against Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, she was alarmed at the great interest and

[o] Camden, p. 442. [p] D'Ewes, p. 207, 208, &c. [q] Ibid. p. 219, 241. [r] Ibid. p. 213, 238.

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CHAP. XL.

1572. the restless spirit of that princess, as well as her close connections with Spain; and she thought it necessary both to encrease the rigour and strictness of her confinement, and to follow maxims, different from what she had hitherto pursued, in her management of Scotland [s]. That kingdom remained still in a state of anarchy.

Scotch affairs. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. By a sudden and unexpected inroad, they seized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, sallying from the castle, were likely to rescue him, they instantly put him to death. The earl of Marre was chosen regent in his room; and found the same difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation, offered by the French and English ambassadors; and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party [t]. He was a man of a free and generous spirit, and scorned to submit to any dependance on England; and for this reason Elizabeth, who had then formed intimate connexions with France, yielded with less reluctance to the solicitations of that court, still maintained the appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland [u]. But affairs soon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the distracted state of the country affected him: Morton was chosen regent; and as this nobleman had secretly taken all his measures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendship of the French court, she resolved to exert herself more effectually for the support of that party, which she had always

[s] Digges, p. 152. [t] Spotswood, p. 263. [u] Digges, p. 156, 165, 169.

favoured.

favoured. She sent Sir Henry Killegrew ambassador to Scotland, who found Mary's partizans so discouraged by the discovery and punishment of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all past offences [x]. The duke of Chatelrault and the earl of Huntley, with the most considerable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on these conditions. The garrison alone of the castle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were desperate; and he flattered himself with the hopes of receiving assistance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obstinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give disturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; she no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, she found, would not any longer be amused by her artifices; she had an implicit reliance on Morton; and she saw, that, by the submission of all the considerable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an easy, as well as a most important undertaking. She ordered, therefore, Sir William Drury, governor of Berwic to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle [y]. The garrison surrendered at discretion: Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed: Secretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died soon after, a voluntary death, as is supposed; and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any farther inquietude to Elizabeth.

CHAP. XL. 1572.

THE events, which happened in France, were not so agreeable to the queen's interests and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been so often made with the hugonots, gave them good reason to suspect the

French affairs.

[x] Spotswood, p. 268. [y] Camden, p. 449.

present

CHAP. XL.

1572. present intentions of the court; and after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and uncertain. But his suspicions were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end the miseries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He considered besides, that, as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with such fatal success, it was not unlikely, that a prince, who had newly come to years of discretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animosities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himself by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a passionate hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure [z], such deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or difficult and almost impossible to be so uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the hugonots began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity, and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and
11th April. Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former [a], and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

THE better to blind the jealous hugonots and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them, Charles

[z] Digges, p. 8, 39. [a] Camden, p. 443.

offered

offered his sister, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the considerable nobility of that party, had come to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the bloody animosity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: Yet Charles, redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the hugonots in their security: Till on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religionists, and the king himself in person led the way to these assassinations. The hatred, long entertained by the Parisians against the protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin; men, who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered without resistance; the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had saved the victims from farther insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre; and near ten thousand of inferior condition [b]. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the protestants; and in Roüen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but

CHAP. XL. 1572.

24th Aug. Massacre of Paris.

[b] Davila, lib. v.

Charles,

CHAP. XI. 1572.

Charles, ſoftened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that theſe young princes might eaſily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to ſpare their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change of their religion.

CHARLES, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended, that a conſpiracy of the hugonots to ſeize his perſon had been ſuddenly detected; and that he had been neceſſitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this ſeverity againſt them. He ſent orders to Fenelon, his ambaſſador in England, to aſk an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late tranſaction. That miniſter, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court, and even ſcrupled not to declare, that he was now aſhamed to bear the name of Frenchman [c]; yet was he obliged to obey his orders, and make uſe of the apology, which had been preſcribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which, he knew, the conduct of his maſter ſo well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the ſolemnity of his audience. A melancholy ſorrow ſat on every face: Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: The courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, and allowed him to paſs, without affording him one ſalute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herſelf [d]. That princeſs received him with a more eaſy, if not a more gracious countenance; and heard his apology, without diſcovering any viſible ſymptoms of indignation. She then told him, that, though, on the firſt rumour of this dreadful intelligence, ſhe had been aſtoniſhed, that ſo many brave men and loyal ſubjects, who reſted ſecure on the faith of their ſovereign, ſhould have been ſuddenly butchered in ſo barbarous a manner; ſhe had hitherto

[c] Digges, p. 247. [d] Carte, vol. iii. p. 522. from Fenelon's Diſpatches.

ſuſpended her judgment, till farther and more certain information ſhould be brought her: That the account, which he had given, even if founded on no miſtake or bad information; though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counſellors, or juſtify the ſtrange irregularity of their proceedings: That the ſame force, which, without reſiſtance, had maſſacred ſo many defenceleſs men, could eaſily have ſecured their perſons, and have reſerved them for a trial, and for puniſhment by a formal ſentence, which would have diſtinguiſhed the innocent from the guilty: That the admiral in particular, being dangerouſly wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whoſe protection he ſeemed entirely to rely, had no means of eſcape, and might ſurely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: That it was more worthy of a ſovereign to reſerve in his own hands the ſword of juſtice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal enemies of the perſons accuſed, employed it without mercy and without diſtinction: That if theſe ſentiments were juſt, even ſuppoſing the conſpiracy of the proteſtants to be real; how much more ſo, if that crime was a mere calumny of their enemies, invented for their ruin and deſtruction? That if, upon enquiry, the innocence of theſe unhappy victims ſhould afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abuſed his confidence, had murdered ſo many of his brave ſubjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with infamy and diſhonour: And that for her part, ſhe ſhould form her judgment of his intentions by his ſubſequent conduct; and in the mean time ſhould act as deſired by the ambaſſador, and rather pity than blame his maſter for the extremities, to which he had been carried [e].

[e] Digges, p. 247, 248.

ELIZABETH

CHAP. XL.

1572. ELIZABETH was fully ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation, in which ſhe now ſtood. In the maſſacre of Paris, ſhe ſaw the reſult of that general conſpiracy, formed for the extermination of the proteſtants; and ſhe knew, that ſhe herſelf, as the head and protectreſs of the new religion, was expoſed to the utmoſt fury and reſentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the ſame conſpiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity, as well as in bigotry, had now laid aſide their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the moſt entire friendſhip [f], ſhe had reaſon as ſoon as they had appeaſed their domeſtic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counſels. The duke of Guiſe alſo and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a diſtance, had now acquired an open and entire aſcendant in the court of France; and ſhe was ſenſible, that theſe princes, from perſonal as well as political reaſons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and cloſe confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and though detained in cuſtody, was actuated by a reſtleſs ſpirit, and beſides her foreign allies, poſſeſſed numerous and zealous partizans in the heart of the kingdom. For theſe reaſons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch; but ſtill to liſten to the profeſſions of friendſhip which he made her. She allowed even the negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother [g]: Thoſe with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She ſent the earl of Worceſter to aſſiſt in her name at the baptiſm of a young princeſs, born to Charles; but before ſhe agreed to give him this laſt mark of condeſcenſion, ſhe thought it becoming her

[f] Digges, p. 268, 282.

[g] Ibid. paſſim. Camden, p 447.

dignity, to renew her expreſſions of blame and even of de- CHAP. XL.
teſtation againſt the cruelties, exerciſed on his proteſtant
ſubjects [h]. Meanwhile, ſhe prepared herſelf for that at- 1572.
tack, which ſeemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romaniſts: She fortified Portſmouth, put her fleet in order, exerciſed her militia, cultivated popularity with her ſubjects, acted with vigour for the further reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no leſs alarmed than herſelf at theſe treacherous and ſanguinary meaſures, ſo univerſally embraced by the catholics.

BUT though Elizabeth cautiouſly avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greateſt ſecurity, that ſhe poſſeſſed againſt his violence, was derived from the difficulties, which the obſtinate reſiſtance of the hugonots ſtill created to him. Such of that ſect as lived near the fron- French affairs.
tiers, immediately, on the firſt news of the maſſacres, 1573.
fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compaſſion and indignation of the proteſtants, and prepared themſelves, with encreaſed forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and revenge the treacherous ſlaughter of their brethren. Thoſe who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took ſhelter in the neareſt garriſons occupied by the hugonots; and finding, that they could repoſe no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. The ſect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thouſand men on foot, and poſſeſſed in different parts of the kingdom above a hundred cities, caſtles, or fortreſſes [i]; nor could that prince deem himſelf ſecure from the invaſion threatened him by all the other proteſtants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were rouzed to ſuch

[h] Digges, p. 297, 298. Camden, p. 447.
[i] Digges, p. 343.

CHAP. XI.

a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge: But Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects [k]. The German princes, less political or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the protestants; and the young prince of Condé, having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many considerable men even among the catholics, displeased, either on a private or public account, with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the hugonots; and every thing relapsed into confusion. The king, instead of repenting his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremity, called aloud for new severities [l]; nor could even the mortal distemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animosity, by which he was actuated. He died without male issue, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince, whose character, containing that unusual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greatest mischiefs, and threatened still worse, both to his native country and to all Europe.

1573.

1574.

30th May.

HENRY, duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France; and found the kingdom, not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to

k Digges, p. 335, 341.

l Davila, lib. v.

infirmities,

infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any ſuitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or ſuffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation baniſhed, it ſeemed impracticable to form any terms of compoſition between them. Each party had devoted itſelf to leaders, whoſe commands had more authority than the will of the ſovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counſels of Guiſe and his family. The religious connections had, on both ſides, ſuperſeded the civil; or rather (for men will always be guided by preſent intereſt) two empires being ſecretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of intereſt to follow thoſe leaders, to whom, during the courſe of paſt convulſions, he had been indebted for his honours and preferment. CHAP. XL. 1575.

HENRY, obſerving the low condition of the crown, had laid a ſcheme for reſtoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependance upon himſelf. He poſſeſſed all the talents of diſſimulation requiſite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and ſound underſtanding, inſtead of acquiring a ſuperiority over both factions, he loſt the confidence of both, and taught the partizans of each to adhere ſtill more cloſely to their particular leaders, whom they found more hearty, cordial, and ſincere, in the cauſe which they purſued. The hugonots were ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a German army under the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir; but much more by the credit and perſonal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himſelf at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in proſecution of 1576.

CHAP. XL.

his plan, entered into a compoſition with them; and being deſirous of preſerving a balance between the ſects, he
1576. granted them peace on the moſt advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but though it was no more ſincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the higheſt diſguſt to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guiſe the deſired pretence of declaiming againſt the meaſures, and maxims, and conduct of the king.

THAT artful and bold leader took thence an occaſion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the firſt foundations of the famous LEAGUE, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the paſt ſeverities and violences of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and a conceſſion for liberty of conſcience, which would probably have appeaſed the reformers, excited the moſt violent reſentment and animoſity in the catholics. Henry, in order to divert the force
1577. of the league from himſelf, and even to elude its efforts againſt the hugonots, declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romaniſts. But his dilatory and feeble meaſures diſcovered his reluctance to the undertaking; and after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though leſs favourable than the former to the proteſtants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence ſtill prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was ſuſpicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itſelf againſt that breach, which they foreſaw, muſt ſpeedily enſue; theological controverſy daily whetted the animoſity of the ſects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

THE

CHAP. XL.

THE king, hoping, by his artifice and ſubtlety, to allure the nation into a love of pleaſure and repoſe, was himſelf caught in the ſnare; and ſinking into diſſolute- 1578.
neſs and indolence, wholly loſt the eſteem, and, in a great meaſure, the affections of his people. Inſtead of advancing ſuch men of character and ability, as were neuters between theſe dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favourites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and encreaſed the general odium againſt his adminiſtration. The public burthens, encreaſed by his profuſe liberality, and felt more heavy on a diſordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrouled animoſity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open ſtate of foreign or even domeſtic hoſtility. The artifices of the king were 1579.
too refined to ſucceed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guiſe on one ſide, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themſelves without reſerve to one or the other of thoſe great leaders.

THE civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foreſight and vigilance, though ſomewhat reſtrained by her frugality, led her to take ſecretly ſome part in them. Beſides employing on all occaſions her good offices in favour of the hugonots, ſhe had expended no inconſiderable ſums of money in levying that army of Germans, which the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir conducted into France [m]; and notwithſtanding her negociations with the court, and her profeſſions of amity, ſhe always conſidered her own intereſts as connected with the proſperity of the French proteſtants

[m] Camden, p. 452.

CHAP. XL.

1579. and the depreſſion of the houſe of Guiſe. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himſelf protector of the league; had entered into the cloſeſt correſpondence with Guiſe; and had employed all his authority in ſupporting the credit of that factious leader. The ſympathy of religion, which of itſelf begat a connection of intereſts, was one conſiderable inducement; but that monarch had alſo in view, the ſubduing of his rebellious ſubjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French proteſtants, would, he hoped, finally deſpair of ſucceſs, after the entire ſuppreſſion of their friends and confederates.

Civil wars of the Low Countries.

THE ſame political views, which engaged Elizabeth to ſupport the hugonots, would have led her to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in theſe mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithſtanding all temptations and all provocations, to preſerve ſome terms of amity with that monarch. The Spaniſh ambaſſador repreſented to her, that many of the Flemiſh exiles, who infeſted the ſeas, and preyed on his maſter's ſubjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to diſpoſe of their prizes; and by theſe remonſtrances the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this meaſure proved in the iſſue extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of Philip. Theſe deſperate exiles, finding no longer any poſſibility of ſubſiſtance, were forced to attempt the moſt perilous enterprizes; and they made an aſſault on the Brille, a ſea-port town in Holland, where they met with ſucceſs, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, became maſters of the place [n]. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and ſtopping thoſe bloody

[n] Camden, p. 443.

executions,

executions, which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, he haſtened with his army to extinguiſh the flame, which, falling on materials ſo well prepared for combuſtion, ſeemed to ménace a general conflagration. His fears ſoon appeared to be well grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572. CHAP. XL. 1572.

WILLIAM, prince of Orange, deſcended from a ſovereign family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the poſſeſſions of a ſovereign family in France, had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal virtues, was univerſally regarded as the greateſt ſubject, that lived in thoſe provinces. He had oppoſed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Countries were confiſcated. In revenge, he had levied an army of proteſtants in the empire, and had made ſome attempts to reſtore the Flemings to liberty; but was ſtill repulſed with loſs by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery

CHAP. XL.

as well as diſcipline, of thoſe veteran Spaniards who ſerved under that general.

1579. THE revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no leſs than ſpirit, to that obſtinate reſiſtance, which was here made to the Spaniſh dominion. By uniting the revolted towns into a league, he laid the foundation of that illuſtrious commonwealth, the offspring of induſtry and liberty, whoſe arms and policy have long made ſo ſignal a figure in every tranſaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive, which religious zeal, reſentment, or love of freedom could inſpire. Though the preſent greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he ſtill flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with aſſiſtance from neighbouring ſtates; and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmoſt extremities of war. From this ſpirit proceeded the deſperate defence of Harlem; a defence, which nothing but the moſt conſuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thouſand of the inhabitants[o]. This extreme ſeverity, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by deſpair; and the vigorous reſiſtance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulſed, ſhowed them that their inſolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at laſt the pernicious effects of his violent counſels, ſolicited to be recalled from the government: Medina-celi, who was appointed his ſucceſſor, refuſed to accept the charge: Requeſens, commendator of Caſtile, was ſent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from

[o] Bentivoglio, lib. 7.

the

the Netherlands in 1754; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting in his turn, that, during the course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner [p].

CHAP. XL. 1579.

REQUESENS, though a man of milder dispositions, could not appease the violent hatred, which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government; and the war continued as obstinate as ever. In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive them from that enterprize; and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithstanding this repulse, the governor still pursued the war; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was resolved to sue for foreign assistance, and to make applications to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the same spirit of tyranny and persecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torne by domestic dissensions, seemed not to enjoy, at present, either leisure or ability to pay regard to foreign interests. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by sympathy in religion, seemed naturally interested in their defence; and as Elizabeth had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would engage her to support them under

[p] Grotius, lib. 4.

CHAP. XL.

1579. their present calamities. They sent, therefore, a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelle, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would employ her power in their defence.

THERE were many strong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of so liberal an offer. She was apprized of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the malcontents in England and Ireland[q]: She was displeased to see a violent and military government erected in her neighbourhood: She foresaw the danger, which she must incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries: And the maritime situation of those provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princess, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards in honour abandon them, but, however desperate their defence might become, she must embrace it, even farther than her convenience or interest would permit. For these reasons, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proferred her; but told the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most rea-

[q] Digges, p. 73.

sonable

sonable conditions that could be obtained [r]. She sent accordingly Sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and represented to him, the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her intestine disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before. CHAP. XL. 1579.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny; and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: They threatened the other cities with a like fate: And all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities.

[r] Camden, p. 453, 454.

But

CHAP. XL.

1579. But it was not easy to settle entire peace, while the thirst of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were so strongly agitated with resentment of past, and fear of future injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appease the quarrel; and as he found the states determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and animated by the prosperous successes of his youth, had opened his mind to vast undertakings; and looking much beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had projected to espouse the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the British kingdoms[s]. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and seeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, she no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with her own safety. After sending them a sum of money, about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty with them; in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thousand pounds, on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any discord

[s] Camden, p. 466. Grotius, lib. iii.

arose

aroſe among themſelves, it ſhould be referred to her arbitration; and that, if any prince, on any pretext, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that which ſhe had employed in their defence. This alliance was ſigned on the 7th of January, 1578[t]. 1579.

One conſiderable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States, was to prevent their throwing themſelves into the arms of France; and ſhe was deſirous to make the king of Spain believe, that it was her ſole motive. She repreſented to him, by her ambaſſador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto ſhe had religiouſly acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refuſed the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to ſubmit to the king; and had even accompanied her counſel with menaces, in caſe of his refuſal. She perſevered, ſhe ſaid, in the ſame friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpoſe with her advice for the compoſure of the preſent differences: Let Don John, whom ſhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let ſome other prince, more popular, be ſubſtituted in his room; let the Spaniſh armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be reſtored to their ancient liberties and privileges: And if, after theſe conceſſions, they were ſtill obſtinate not to return to their duty, ſhe promiſed to join her arms with thoſe of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip diſſembled his reſentment againſt the queen; and ſtill continued to ſupply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulſed at Rimenant, by the valour of the Engliſh under Norris, and though oppoſed, as well by the army of the States as by prince Caſimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen,

[t] Camden, p. 466.

gained

CHAP. XL.

1579. gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midſt of his proſperity by poiſon, given him ſecretly, as was ſuſpected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma ſucceeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negociation and military exploits, made great progreſs againſt the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progreſs of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During theſe years, while Europe was almoſt every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration, and to the wiſe precautions, which ſhe employed in all her meaſures. By ſupporting the zealous proteſtants in Scotland, ſhe had twice given them the ſuperiority over their antagoniſts, had cloſely connected their intereſts with her own, and had procured herſelf entire ſecurity from that quarter, whence the moſt dangerous invaſions could be made upon her. She ſaw in France her enemies, the Guiſes, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partizans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their reſtleſs and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her juſt ground of anxiety; but the ſame bigotry had happily excited the moſt obſtinate oppoſition among his own ſubjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely ſoon to ſubdue. The queen of Scots, her antagoniſt and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a priſoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high ſpirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partizans in England.

Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political tranſactions of that age; and the queen's conduct

conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: She imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who received trust or emolument from the public: And though the exercise of all religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament, in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at [u]; while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, shewed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship. The pope, sensible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partizans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emissaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as possible, and to make the frequenting of protestant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics [w]. These practices, with the rebellion, which ensued, encreased the vigilance and severity of the government; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the Nonconformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution. CHAP. XL. 1579.

THE queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so immediately dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a more unreasonable obstinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full

[u] Camden, p. 459. p. 418. Cabala, p. 406.

[w] Walsingham's Letter in Burnet, vol. ii.

CHAP. XL.

1579.

scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline, had been carefully repressed in the beginning of this reign [x]; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shewn a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation [y]: Though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the protection which these sectaries received from some of her most considerable courtiers.

But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her subjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried sometimes to an extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people, who were at that time very little accustomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid œconomy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father [z]. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; a practice in that age somewhat unusual [a]: And she established her credit on such a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigencies might at any time require [b]. During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes few materials for history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence, which requires a particular detail.

A parliament.

The most memorable event in this period was a session of parliament, held on the 8th of February, 1576; where debates were started, which may appear somewhat

x Strype's Life of Parker, p. 342. Ibid. Life of Grindal, p. 315.
y Heylin, p. 165, 166. z D'Ewes, p. 245. Camden, p. 446.
a D'Ewes, p. 246. b Ibid. p. 245.

curious

curious and ſingular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had ſignalized himſelf in former parliaments, by his free and undaunted ſpirit, opened this ſeſſion with a premeditated harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the houſe, and gave great offence to the queen and the miniſters. As it ſeems to contain a rude ſketch of thoſe principles of liberty, which happily gained afterwards the aſcendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the ſubſtance of it. He premiſed, that the very name of liberty is ſweet; but the thing itſelf is precious beyond the moſt ineſtimable treaſure: And that it behoved them to be careful, leſt, contenting themſelves with the ſweetneſs of the name, they forego the ſubſtance, and abandon what of all earthly poſſeſſions was of the higheſt value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to obſerve, that freedom of ſpeech in that houſe, a privilege ſo uſeful both to ſovereign and ſubject, had been formerly infringed in many eſſential articles, and was, at preſent, expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: That it was uſual, when any ſubject of importance was handled, eſpecially if it regarded religion, to ſurmize, that theſe topics were diſagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: That Solomon had juſtly affirmed the king's diſpleaſure to be a meſſenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conſcience and duty, ſhould be inclined to ſtop ſhort, when they found themſelves expoſed to ſo ſevere a penalty: That by the employing of this argument, the houſe was incapacitated from ſerving their country, and even from ſerving the queen herſelf; whoſe ears, beſieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inacceſſible to the moſt ſalutary truths: That it was a mockery to call an aſſembly a parliament, and yet deny it that privilege, which was ſo eſſential to its being, and without

CHAP. XL. 1579.

CHAP. XL. 1579.

which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation: That as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority, whence even kings themselves derive their being: That a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependant on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: That even his commission, as God's vicegerent, enforced, instead of loosening, this obligation; since he was thereby invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: That though these surmizes of displeasing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law; yet was there a more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties, by frequent messages from the throne: That it had become a practice, when the house was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and debarring them from all farther discussion of these momentous articles. That the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicitly submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: That the love, which he bore his sovereign, forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance: And that, as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but in imposing this servitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dangerous, fault against herself and the whole realm [c].

[c] D'Ewes, p. 236, 237, &c.

CHAP. XL. 1579.

It is easy to observe, from this speech, that, in those dawnings of liberty, the parliamentary style was still crude and unformed; and that the proper decorum of attacking ministers and counsellors, without interesting the honour of the crown, or mentioning the person of the sovereign, was not as yet entirely established. The commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual licence: They sequestered Wentworth from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the house. This committee met in the star-chamber, and wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to appear before them, and answer for his behaviour. But though the commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star-chamber; Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and refused to give these counsellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were satisfied, that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the house [d]. He justified himself by pleading the rigour and hardship of the queen's messages; and notwithstanding that the committee shewed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favour, she had restored him to his liberty and to his place in the house [e]. By this seeming lenity, she indirectly retained the power, which she had assumed, of imprisoning the members, and obliging them to answer before her for

[d] D'Ewes, p. 241. [e] Ibid. p. 244.

CHAP. XL. 1579.

their conduct in parliament. And Sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the house sensible of her Majesty's goodness, in so gently remitting the indignation, which she might justly conceive at the temerity of their member: But he informed them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased; and that indiscreet freedoms, used in that house, had, both in the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuse farther the queen's clemency; lest she be constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity [f].

The behaviour of the two houses was, in every other respect, equally tame and submissive. Instead of a bill, which was at first introduced [g], for the reformation of the church, they were contented to present a petition to her majesty for that purpose: And when she told them, that she would give orders to her bishops, to amend all abuses, and if they were negligent, she would herself, by her supreme power and authority over the church, give such redress as would entirely satisfy the nation; the parliament willingly acquiesced in this sovereign and peremptory decision [h].

Though the commons shewed so little spirit in opposing the authority of the crown, they maintained, this session, their dignity against an encroachment of the peers, and would not agree to a conference, which, they thought, was desired of them in an irregular manner. They acknowledged, however, with all humbleness, (such was their expression) the superiority of the lords: They only refused to give that house any reason for their proceedings; and asserted, that, where they altered a bill sent them by the peers, it belonged to them to desire a conference, not to the upper house to require it [i].

f D'Ewes, p. 259. g Ibid. p. 252. h Ibid. p. 257.
i Ibid. p. 263.

CHAP. XL. 1579.

THE commons granted an aid of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to ſatisfy the houſe concerning the reaſonableneſs of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's paſt expences in ſupporting the government, and of the encreaſing charges of the crown, from the daily encreaſe in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admoniſh them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condeſcenſion, ſince ſhe was not bound to give them any account how ſhe employed her treaſure [k].

[k] D'Ewes, p. 246.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Affairs of Scotland——Spaniſh affairs——Sir Francis Drake——A parliament——Negociations of marriage with the duke of Anjou——Affairs of Scotland——Letter of queen Mary to Elizabeth——Conſpiracies in England——A parliament——The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion——Affairs of the Low Countries——Hoſtilities with Spain.*

CHAP. XLI. 1580.

THE greateſt and moſt abſolute ſecurity, that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the ſcene began now to be more overcaſt, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

Affairs of Scotland.

The earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in ſtrict alliance with the queen, and had alſo reſtored domeſtic tranquillity to that kingdom: But it was not to be expected, that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itſelf in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes ſo often met with oppoſition and controul. The nobility began anew to break into factions: The people were diſguſted with ſome inſtances of Morton's avarice: And the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and encreaſed the diſcontent of the other orders. The regent was ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation; and having dropped ſome peeviſh expreſſions, as if he were willing or deſirous to reſign, the noblemen of the oppoſite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this conceſſion, and required that demiſſion which he ſeemed ſo frankly to offer them.

James

James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government, and seemed to employ himself entirely in the care of his domestic affairs; but either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared insipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendant in the council; and though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government: Queen Elizabeth interposed by her ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority seemed to become every day more precarious. CHAP. XLI. 1580.

THE count d'Aubigney, of the house of Lenox, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he appeared to the duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no sooner appeared at Stirling, where James resided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his interests with those of James Stuart of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himself, under the appearance of play and amusement, in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He

CHAP. XLI. 1580.

represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts, either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him in the administration [l]. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger, which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent anew Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accusing d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such suspicious and dangerous connexions [m]. The king excused himself, by Sir Alexander Hume his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed, that Bothwel had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his concurrence; but he denied, that he had ever expressed any approbation of that crime; and in excuse for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder [n]. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of

[l] Digges, p. 412, 428. Melvil, p. 130. [m] Spotswood, p. 309.
[n] Ibid. p. 314. Crawford, p. 333. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 54.

England;

England; but this expedient ſerved only to haſten his ſentence and execution [o]. Morton died with that conſtancy and reſolution, which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was leſs diſputed with regard to ability than probity and virtue. But this concluſion of the ſcene happened not till the ſubſequent year. 1580.

Spaniſh affairs.

ELIZABETH was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both becauſe that country alone, not being ſeparated from England by ſea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a ſafe and eaſy method of attacking her; and becauſe ſhe was ſenſible, that Mary, thinking herſelf abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guiſes to have recourſe to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and ſuffered, more exaſperated againſt her. That he might retaliate for the aſſiſtance, which ſhe gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had ſent, under the name of the pope [p], a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and diſcontented with the Engliſh government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spaniſh general, San Joſepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there beſieged by the earl of Ormond, preſident of Munſter, who was ſoon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After ſome aſſaults, feebly ſuſtained, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Gray, who was attended with a ſmall force, finding himſelf embarraſſed with ſo many priſoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the ſword without mercy, and hanged

[o] Spotſwood, p. 312. [p] Digges, p. 359, 370.

about

CHAP. XLI.

about fifteen hundred Iriſh: A cruelty which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth [q].

1580. Sir Francis Drake.

When the Engliſh ambaſſador made complaints of this invaſion, he was anſwered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold ſeaman, who had aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure, in the new world. This man, ſprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired conſiderable riches by depredations made in the iſthmus of Panama, and having there got a ſight of the Pacific ocean, was ſo ſtimulated by ambition and avarice, that he ſcrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo much unknown at that time to all the European nations [r]. By means of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, then vice chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her conſent and approbation; and he ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were 164 able ſailors [s]. He paſſed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in theſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty, which he had acquired. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the ſame way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprize, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the Globe; and the firſt commander in chief: For Magellan, whoſe ſhip executed the ſame adventure, died in his paſſage. His name became celebrated on account of ſo bold and for-

[q] Camden, p. 475. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 368. [r] Camden, p. 478. Stowe, p. 689. [s] Camden, p. 478. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46.

tunate

CHAP. XLI.

tunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the reſentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to perſuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to diſown the enterprize, to puniſh Drake, and to reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and who was allured by the proſpect of ſharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant ſailor: She conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip, which had atchieved ſo memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambaſſador, Mendoza, exclaimed againſt Drake's piracies, ſhe told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations, who ſhould ſail thither, even with a view of exerciſing the moſt lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into theſe countries [t]. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, ſhe cauſed part of the booty to be reſtored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants, whom Drake had ſpoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had ſeized the money, and had employed part of it againſt herſelf in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, ſhe determined to make no more reſtitutions. 1580.

THERE was another cauſe, which induced the queen to take this reſolution: She was in ſuch want of money, that ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament, a meaſure, which, as ſhe herſelf openly declared, ſhe never embraced, except when conſtrained by the neceſſity of her affairs. The parliament, beſides granting her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, enacted ſome ſtatutes for the ſecurity of her government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any 1581. 16th Jan. A parliament.

[t] Camden, p. 489.

one

CHAP. XLI.

1581.

one to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; to ſay maſs was ſubjected to the penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being preſent was puniſhable by a year's impriſonment and a fine of a hundred marks: A fine of twenty pounds a-month was impoſed on every one who continued, during that time, abſent from church[u]. To utter ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony: The writing or printing of ſuch words was felony even on the firſt offence[w]. The puritans prevailed ſo far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion[x]. And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the preceding ſeſſion, moved, that the commons, from their own authority, ſhould appoint a general faſt and prayers; a motion, to which the houſe raſhly aſſented. For this preſumption, they were ſeverely reprimanded by a meſſage from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and ſupremacy; and they were obliged to ſubmit, and aſk forgiveneſs[y].

THE queen and parliament were engaged to paſs theſe ſevere laws againſt the catholics, by ſome late diſcoveries of the treaſonable practices of their prieſts. When the ancient worſhip was ſuppreſſed, and the reformation introduced into the univerſities, the king of Spain reflected, that, as ſome ſpecies of literature was requiſite for the ſupport of theſe doctrines and controverſies, the Romiſh communion muſt decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the eccleſiaſtics; and for this reaſon, he founded a ſeminary at Doüay, where the catholics ſent their children, chiefly ſuch as were intended

[u] 23 Eliz. cap. 1. [w] Ibid. cap. 2. [x] D'Ewes, p. 302.
[y] Ibid. p. 284, 285.

for

for the prieſthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like ſeminary in his dioceſe of Rheims; and though Rome was ſomewhat diſtant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the ſame nature, that capital of orthodoxy. Theſe ſeminaries founded with ſo hoſtile an intention, ſent over every year a colony of prieſts, who maintained the catholic ſuperſtition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infuſed into all their votaries an extreme hatred againſt the queen; whom they treated as an uſurper, a ſchiſmatic, a heretic, a perſecutor of the orthodox, and one ſolemnly and publicly anathematiſed by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, and ſometimes aſſaſſination, were the expedients, by which they propoſed to effectuate their purpoſes againſt her; and the ſevere reſtraint, not to ſay perſecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghoſtly fathers, ſuch violent doctrines. CHAP. XLI. 1581.

THESE ſeminaries were all of them under the direction of the jeſuits, a new order of regular prieſts erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who ſufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, aſſailed on every ſide, and that the inquiſitive ſpirit of the age required a ſociety more active and more learned, to oppoſe its dangerous progreſs. Theſe men, as they ſtood foremoſt in the conteſt againſt the proteſtants, drew on them the extreme animoſity of that whole ſect; and by aſſuming a ſuperiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even expoſed to the envy of their brethren:

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

brethren: So that it is no wonder, if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has, in many instances, been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they must bear from posterity, that, by the very nature of their institution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity; and as their erudition was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature) they were only the more enabled, by that acquisition, to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a regular system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, where it served their ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended.

The jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds, either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication, fulminated against Elizabeth, excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partizans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new

ſummons, to require it [z]. Campion was afterwards detected in treaſonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confeſſing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and proſecuted, with the greateſt appearance of ſucceſs, his marriage with the queen; and this ſeverity was probably intended to appeaſe her proteſtant ſubjects, and to ſatisfy them, that, whatever meaſures ſhe might purſue, ſhe never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

Negociations of marriage with the duke of Anjou.

THE duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretenſions to Elizabeth; and that princeſs, though her ſuitor was near twenty-five years younger than herſelf, and had no knowledge of her perſon, but by pictures or deſcriptions, was ſtill pleaſed with the image, which his addreſſes afforded her, of love and tenderneſs. The duke, in order to forward his ſuit, beſides employing his brother's ambaſſador, ſent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable converſation, who, ſoon remarking the queen's humour, amuſed her with gay diſcourſe, and inſtead of ſerious political reaſonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his maſter's intereſts, he introduced every moment all the topics of paſſion and of gallantry. The pleaſure, which ſhe found in this man's ſociety, ſoon produced a familiarity between them; and amidſt the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, her moſt confidential miniſters had not ſuch ready acceſs to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negociation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leiceſter, who had never before been alarmed with any courtſhip payed her, and who always truſted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend,

[z] Camden, p. 477.

that

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement, which she had given to this young suitor, had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himself of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that that minister had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; and he revealed to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to discover, that this nobleman was secretly, without her consent, married to the widow of the earl of Essex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of respect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which so provoked her, that she threatened to send him to the Tower [a]. The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon enquiry, that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person his liberty, without farther punishment. So far was she from entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say, "That she would lend credit to no-"thing against them, which parents would not believe "of their own children [b]."

THE duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some con-

[a] Camden, p. 471. [b] Idem ibid.

ference

ference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared, that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had loſt no ground by being perſonally known to her; and ſoon after, ſhe commanded Burleigh, now treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had ſent over on this occaſion a ſplendid embaſſy conſiſting of Francis de Bourbon, prince Dauphin, and many conſiderable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled with the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was agreed, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould have the exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage he ſhould bear the title of King, but the adminiſtration to remain ſolely in the queen; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the eldeſt, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England [b].

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

THESE articles, providing for the ſecurity of England, in caſe of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a diſmal proſpect to the Engliſh; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehenſions of this nature. The queen alſo, as a proof of her ſtill remaining uncertainty, added a clauſe, that ſhe was not bound to

[b] Camden, p. 484.

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

complete the marriage, till further articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen sent over Walsingham, as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offensive and defensive against the encreasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain. The French King, who had been extremely disturbed with the unquiet spirit, the restless ambition, the enterprizing, and yet timid and inconstant disposition of Anjou, had already sought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a scene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had secretly supplied him with men and money for that undertaking. The prospect of settling him in England was for a like reason very agreeable to that monarch; and he was desirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable sentiments, which Elizabeth seemed to entertain towards him. But this princess, though she had gone farther in her amorous [c] dalliance than could be justified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final conclusion; and she confined Walsingham, in his instructions, to negociating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England [d]. Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the conditions of alliance, than he was informed, that the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage [e]. The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league,

[c] Digges, p. 387, 396, 408, 426.
[d] Ibid. p. 352.
[e] Ibid. p. 375, 391.

and

and opened a negociation for the marriage [f]. But mat- CHAP. XLI.
ters had not long proceeded in this train, before the queen 1581.
again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walſingham to renew the conferences for that purpoſe. Before he had leiſure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of reſolution [g]; and not only the court of France, but Walſingham himſelf, Burleigh, and all the wiſeſt miniſters of Elizabeth, were in amaze, doubtful where this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition, would at laſt terminate [h].

In the courſe of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new conteſt between her reaſon and her ruling paſſions. The duke of Anjou expected from her ſome money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders; and the queen herſelf, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was ſenſible that this ſupply was neceſſary; and ſhe was at laſt induced, after much heſitation, to comply with his requeſt [i]. She ſent him a preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns; by which, joined to his own demeſnes and the aſſiſtance of his brother and the queen dowager, he levied an army, and took the field againſt the prince of Parma. He was ſucceſsful in raiſing the ſiege of Cambray; and being choſen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England, in order to proſecute his ſuit to the queen. The reception which he met with, made him expect entire ſucceſs, and gave him hopes, that Elizabeth had ſurmounted all ſcruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her huſband. In the midſt of the pomp, which attended the anniverſary of her coronation, 17th Nov.

[f] Digges p. 392. Rymer, xv. p. 793.
[g] Ibid. p. 408.
[h] See note [Q] at the end of the volume.
[i] Digges, p. 357, 387, 388, 409, 426, 439.

CHAP. XLI.

1581.

she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony, she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intention to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, dispatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance [k]. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a passionate book, which he intituled, "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed "by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that, immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried "God save the queen."

But notwithstanding this attachment, which Elizabeth so openly discovered to the duke of Anjou, the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation. Almost all the courtiers, whom she trusted and favoured, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bedchamber made no scruple of opposing her resolution with the most zealous remonstrances [l]. Among other enemies to the match, Sir Philip, son of Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leicester; a young man the most accomplished of that age; declared himself: And he used the freedom to write her a letter, in which

[k] Camden, p. 486. Thuan. lib. 74.

[l] Camden, p. 486.

he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution, with an unuſual elegance of expreſſion, as well as force of reaſoning. He told her, that the ſecurity of her government depended entirely on the affections of her proteſtant ſubjects; and ſhe could not, by any meaſure, more effectually diſguſt them than by eſpouſing a prince, who was ſon of the perfidious Catherine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himſelf embrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceleſs proteſtants: That the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that ſhe had originally uſurped the crown, or was now lawfully depoſed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever ſo much elevated their hopes as the proſpect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: That her chief ſecurity at preſent, againſt the efforts of ſo numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they poſſeſſed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterprizes; and ſhe herſelf was raſhly ſupplying that defect, by giving an intereſt in the kingdom to a prince, whoſe education had zealouſly attached him to that communion: That though he was a ſtranger to the blood royal of England, the diſpoſitions of men were now ſuch, that they preferred the religious to the civil connections; and were more influenced by ſympathy in theological opinions than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: That the duke himſelf had diſcovered a very reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his ſovereign, there remained no hopes that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman, whom he might, in quality of huſband, think himſelf intitled to command: That the French nation, ſo populous, ſo much abounding in ſoldiers, ſo full of nobility, who were devoted to arms, and, for ſome time, accuſtomed to ſerve for plunder, would ſupply him with partizans, dangerous to a people, unwarlike

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

CHAP. XLI. 1581.

warlike and defenceleſs like the generality of her ſubjects: That the plain and honourable path, which ſhe had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign ſecure and happy; and however her enemies might ſeem to multiply upon her, the ſame invincible rampart was ſtill able to protect and defend her: That ſo long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his poſterity, it was vain to hope, that the ties of blood would enſure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burthen, rather than a protection, to the latter kingdom: That the example of her ſiſter Mary was ſufficient to inſtruct her in the danger of ſuch connections; and to prove, that the affection and confidence of the Engliſh could never be maintained, where they had ſuch reaſon to apprehend, that their intereſts would every moment be ſacrificed to thoſe of a foreign and hoſtile nation: That notwithſtanding theſe great inconveniencies, diſcovered by paſt experience, the houſe of Burgundy, it muſt be confeſſed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and, what was of chief moment, Philip was of the ſame communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of intereſt and affection: And that however the queen might remain childleſs, even though old age ſhould grow upon her, the ſingular felicity and glory of her reign would preſerve her from contempt; the affections of her ſubjects, and thoſe of all the proteſtants in Europe, would defend her from attacks; and her own prudence, without other aid or aſſiſtance, would baffle all the efforts of her moſt malignant enemies [m].

THESE reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irreſolution; and ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights

[m] Letters of the Sydneys, vol. i. p. 287, & ſeq. Cabala, p. 363.

without

without any ſleep or repoſe. At laſt her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having ſent for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long conference with him in private, where ſhe was ſuppoſed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expreſſed great diſguſt on his leaving her; threw away the ring which ſhe had given him; and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women and of iſlanders [n]. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands; loſt the confidence of the States by a raſh and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, ſaved herſelf from the numerous miſchiefs, which muſt have attended ſo imprudent a marriage: And the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that reſentment, which ſhe had reaſon to dread, from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family.

CHAP. XLI. 1582.

THE anxiety of the queen, from the attempts of the Engliſh catholics, never ceaſed during the whole courſe of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the ſource ſometimes of her hopes, ſometimes of her apprehenſions. This year the affairs of Scotland ſtrongly engaged her attention. The influence, which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now aſſumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a ſlender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles, and all the preachers, were ſo much diſcontented with their adminiſtration. The aſſembly of the church appointed a ſolemn faſt; of which one of the avowed reaſons was the danger to which the king was expoſed from the company of wicked perſons [o]: And on that day, the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt Lenox,

Affairs of Scotland.

[n] Camden, p. 486. [o] Spotſwood, p. 319.

CHAP. XLI.

Arran, and all the preſent counſellors. When the minds of the people were ſufficiently prepared by theſe lectures, a conſpiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for ſeizing the perſon of James at Ruthven, a ſeat of the earl of Gowry's; and the deſign, being kept ſecret, ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The leaders in this enterprize were, the earl of Gowry himſelf, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindeſey and Boyd, the maſters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermline, Paiſley, and Cambuſkenneth. The king wept when he found himſelf detained a priſoner; but the maſter of Glamis ſaid, "No matter for his tears: "Better that boys ſhould weep than bearded men:" An expreſſion which James could never afterwards forgive [p]. But notwithſtanding his reſentment, he found it neceſſary to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. He pretended an entire acquieſcence in the conduct of the aſſociators; acknowledged the detention of his perſon to be acceptable ſervice; and agreed to ſummon both an aſſembly of the church and a convention of eſtates, in order to ratify that enterprize.

1582.

August 23.

THE aſſembly, though they had eſtabliſhed it as an inviolable rule, that the king, on no account and under no pretence, ſhould ever intermeddle in eccleſiaſtical matters, made no ſcruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occaſion, that the attempt of the conſpirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preſervation of the king's perſon, and proſperous ſtate of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend theſe ſentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with eccleſiaſtical cenſures every man, who ſhould oppoſe the authority of the confederated lords [q]. The convention, being compoſed chiefly of theſe lords themſelves, added their ſanc-

[p] Spotſwood, p. 320. [q] Ibid. p. 322.

tion

tion to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than excite a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed [r], chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. He persevered to the last in the protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scotch clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and to his last moments never forgot the early friendship, which he had borne their father: A strong proof of the good dispositions of that prince [s]. CHAP. XLI. 1582.

No sooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen sent Sir Henry Cary, and Sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence, committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the earl of Angus, who, ever since Morton's fall, had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and as James suspected, that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detension, he thought proper, before the English ambassadors, to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambassadors from France: Their errand was to enquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the assembly voted the set- 1583.

[r] Heylin's Hist. Presbyter, p. 227. Spotswood. [s] Spotswood, p. 328.

tling

CHAP. XLI. 1583.

ting of terms between the mother and son to be a most wicked undertaking. The pulpits resounded with declamations against the French ambassadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guise: And as that minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it, in contempt, the badge of Antichrist. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repress these insolent reflections; but in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a splendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public fast; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical, authority [t].

WHAT encreased their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary, was, that the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy were so ignorant as to believe the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess, both for her own and her son's liberty. She said, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience, which she

Letter of Mary to Elizabeth.

[t] Spotswood, p 324.

herself,

herſelf, during ſo many years, had of the extreme infeli- CHAP. XLI.
city attending that ſituation, had made her the more
apprehenſive, leſt a like fate ſhould purſue her unhappy 1583.
offſpring: That the long train of injuſtice which ſhe had undergone; the calumnies to which ſhe had been expoſed; were ſo grievous, that, finding no place for right or truth among men, ſhe was reduced to make her laſt appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal juriſdiction, degree, and dignity: That after her rebellious ſubjects, ſecretly inſtigated by Elizabeth's miniſters, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in priſon, had purſued her with arms, ſhe had voluntarily thrown herſelf under the protection of England; fatally allured by thoſe reiterated profeſſions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generoſity of a friend, an ally, and a kinſwoman: That not content with excluding her from her preſence, with ſupporting the uſurpers of her throne, with contributing to the deſtruction of her faithful ſubjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worſe captivity than that from which ſhe had eſcaped, and had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence, which ſhe had repoſed in her: That though her reſentment of ſuch ſevere uſage had never carried her farther than to uſe ſome diſappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herſelf, and fatal to others, ſhe found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to ſuch a height that it ſurpaſſed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: That ſhe was cut off from all communication, not only with the reſt of mankind, but with her only ſon; and her maternal fondneſs, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy ſympathy in ſituation, and was her ſole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy ſolace, which letters or

meſſages

CHAP. XLI.

1583.

messages could give: That the bitterness of her sorrows, still more than her close confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the insufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all those other calamities, under which she laboured: That while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable prospect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and sorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that last consolation; and having secluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal existence: That the exercise of her religion was refused her; the use of those sacred rites in which she had been educated; the commerce with those holy ministers, whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our transgressions, and to seal our penitence by a solemn re-admission into heavenly favour and forgiveness: That it was vain to complain of the rigours of persecution exercised in other kingdoms; when a queen, and an innocent woman, was excluded from an indulgence, which never yet, in the most barbarous countries, had been denied to the meanest and most obnoxious malefactor: That could she ever be induced to descend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal, to which she would appeal from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity, which, uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be induced to exercise towards her: And that she finally intreated her, to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on the support, as well as comfort, which she might receive from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation,

tion, and reinſtate them in that liberty and authority, to which they were intitled [u]. CHAP. XLI.

1583.

ELIZABETH was engaged to obſtruct Mary's reſtoration, chiefly becauſe ſhe foreſaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princeſs recovered any conſiderable ſhare of authority in Scotland, her reſentment, ambition, zeal, and connections, both domeſtic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after ſuppreſſing the proteſtant party among her ſubjects, to revive thoſe pretenſions, which ſhe had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partizans in both kingdoms ſtill ſupported with great induſtry and aſſurance. If ſhe was reinſtated in power, with ſuch ſtrict limitations as could not be broken, ſhe might be diſguſted with her ſituation; and flying abroad, form more deſperate attempts than any ſovereign, who had a crown to hazard, would willingly undertake. Mary herſelf, ſenſible of theſe difficulties, and convinced by experience, that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wiſhes; and as age and infirmities had repreſſed thoſe ſentiments of ambition and indignation, by which ſhe had formerly been ſo much actuated, ſhe was willing to ſacrifice all her hopes of power and grandeur, in order to obtain a little liberty; a bleſſing to which ſhe naturally aſpired with the fondeſt impatience. She propoſed, therefore, that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in him: And ſhe was content to live in England, in a private ſtation, and even under a kind of reſtraint; but with ſome more liberty, both for exerciſe and company, than ſhe had enjoyed, ſince the firſt diſcovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid leſt ſuch a looſe method of guarding her would

[u] Camden, p. 489.

facilitate

CHAP. XLI. 1583.

facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or, at least, would encourage and encrease her partizans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues, to which she had already discovered so strong a propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottish queen [w]: At present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending, that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation, than the concurrence of the council of state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture, from this circumstance, what would be the result of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed, that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than some loose proposals for that purpose [x].

The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so power-

[w] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 540.

[x] MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 401. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9.

ful a combination. They were offered a pardon, upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgment of their fault, in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: The greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country; and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found, that, by their reſiſtance, they had thrown all power into the hands of a perſon, whoſe counſels were as violent as his manners were profligate [y]. 1583.

ELIZABETH wrote a letter to James; in which ſhe quoted a moral ſentence from Iſocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconſtancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, juſtified his meaſures; and retaliated, by turning two paſſages of Iſocrates againſt *her* [z]. She next ſent Walſingham in an embaſſy to him; and her chief purpoſe in employing that aged miniſter in an errand, where ſo little buſineſs was to be tranſacted, was to learn, from a man of ſo much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince poſſeſſed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and induſtry which his ſtation required; and as he excelled in general diſcourſe and converſation, Walſingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real buſineſs was tranſacted, to have fully merited [a]. The account, which he gave his miſtreſs, induced her to treat James thenceforth with ſome more regard, than ſhe had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

[y] Spotſwood, p. 325, 326, & ſeq. Strype, vol. iii. p. 165.
[z] Melvil, p. 140, 141.
[a] Melvil, p. 143. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 530.

THE

CHAP. XLI.

1584. THE king of Scots, perſevering in his preſent views, ſummoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman ſhould preſume, in his ſermons, to utter falſe, untrue, or ſcandalous ſayings againſt the king, the council, or the public meaſures, or to meddle, in an improper manner, with the affairs of his majeſty and the ſtates [b]. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a ſanctuary for them, were extremely offended: They ſaid, that the king was become popiſh in his heart; and they gave their adverſaries the epithets of groſs libertines, belly gods, and infamous perſons [c]. The violent conduct of Arran ſoon brought over the popularity to their ſide. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to priſon, was tried on ſome new accuſations, condemned, and executed. Many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the baniſhed lords, being aſſiſted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their eſtates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's preſence, were pardoned, and reſtored to his favour.

ARRAN was degraded from authority; deprived of that eſtate and title which he had uſurped; and the whole country ſeemed to be compoſed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after oppoſing, during ſome time, the credit of this favourite, had found it more expedient, before his fall, to compound all differences with him, by means of Daviſon, a miniſter whom ſhe ſent to Scotland: But having more confidence in the lords, whom ſhe had helped to reſtore, ſhe was pleaſed with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correſpondence with the new court and miniſtry of James.

[b] Spotſwood, p. 333. [c] Ibid. p. 334.

THESE

CHAP. XLI.

1584. Conſpiracies in England.

THESE revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of ſmall importance to the repoſe and ſecurity of Elizabeth, had her own ſubjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the catholics, excited by conſtraint more properly than perſecution, daily threatened her with ſome dangerous inſurrection. The vigilance of the miniſters, particularly of Burleigh and Walſingham, was raiſed in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts, which had been blameable in a more peaceable government, were employed, in detecting conſpiracies, and even diſcovering the ſecret inclinations of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the Engliſh exiles, and privately conveyed to the houſes of the catholics: Spies were hired to obſerve the actions and diſcourſe of ſuſpected perſons: Informers were countenanced: And though the ſagacity of theſe two great miniſters helped them to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the ſubjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmoſt anxiety and inquietude. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed, that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was deſirous of retracting this confeſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty and executed. Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted this

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

conſpiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was ſent into Spain, to excuſe his diſmiſſion, and to deſire the king to ſend another ambaſſador in his place: But Philip would not ſo much as admit the Engliſh ambaſſador to his preſence. Creighton, a Scotch Jeſuit, coming over on board a veſſel which was ſeized, tore ſome papers, with an intention of throwing them into the ſea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ſhip, they were pieced together, and diſcovered ſome dangerous ſecrets [d].

MANY of theſe conſpiracies were, with great appearance of reaſon, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots [e]; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought, that they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the danger of her claims, and the reſtleſs activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that truſt, had alſo been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe: And ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in their care and attention. An aſſociation was alſo ſet on foot by the earl of Leiceſter and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the ſubſcription of it. The purport of this aſſociation was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed againſt her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title ſoever they might poſſeſs, by whoſe ſuggeſtion, or for whoſe behoof, any violence ſhould be offered to her majeſty [f]. The queen of Scots was ſenſible, that this aſſociation was

[d] Camden, p. 499. [e] Strype, vol. iii, p. 246.
[f] State Trials, vol. i. p. 122, 123.

levelled

levelled againſt her; and to remove all ſuſpicion from herſelf, ſhe alſo deſired leave to ſubſcribe it. CHAP. XLI.

ELIZABETH, that ſhe might the more diſcourage malcontents, by ſhewing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, ſummoned a new parliament; and ſhe met with that dutiful attachment, which ſhe expected. The aſſociation was confirmed by parliament; and a clauſe was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who ſhould attempt or imagine any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination againſt her: Upon condemnation, pronounced by theſe commiſſioners, the guilty perſon was excluded from all claim to the ſucceſſion, and was farther puniſhable, as her majeſty ſhould direct. And for greater ſecurity, a council of regency, in caſe of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and to take vengeance for that act of treaſon [g]. 1584. 23d Nov. A parliament.

A SEVERE law was alſo enacted againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts: It was ordained, that they ſhould depart the kingdom within forty days; that thoſe who ſhould remain beyond that time, or ſhould afterwards return, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; that thoſe who harboured or relieved them ſhould be guilty of felony; that thoſe who were educated in ſeminaries, if they returned not in ſix months after notice given, and ſubmitted not themſelves to the queen, before a biſhop or two juſtices, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; and that if any, ſo ſubmitting themſelves, ſhould, within ten years, approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their ſubmiſſion ſhould be void [h]. By this law, the exerciſe of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was, in many inſtances, connived at, was totally ſuppreſſed. In the ſubſequent part of the

[g] 27 Eliz. cap. 1. [h] Ibid. cap. 2.

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

queen's reign, the law was ſometimes executed, by the capital puniſhment of prieſts; and though the partizans of that princeſs aſſerted, that they were puniſhed for their treaſon, not their religion, the apology muſt only be underſtood in this ſenſe, that the law was enacted on account of the treaſonable views and attempts of the ſect, not that every individual, who ſuffered the penalty of the law, was convicted of treaſon [i]. The catholics, therefore, might now with juſtice complain of a violent perſecution; which, we may ſafely affirm, in ſpite of the rigid and bigotted maxims of that age, not to be the beſt method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the eſtabliſhed government and religion.

THE parliament, beſides arming the queen with theſe powers, granted her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. The only circumſtance, in which their proceedings were diſagreeable to her, was an application, made by the commons, for a farther reformation in eccleſiaſtical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her, as well as them, in a delicate point, they diſcovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the houſe was puritans, or inclined to that ſect [k]; but the ſevere reprimands, which they had already, in former ſeſſions, met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an incroachment on the prerogative: They

[i] Some even of thoſe who defend the queen's meaſures, allow that in ten years fifty prieſts were executed, and fifty-five baniſhed. Camden, p. 649.

[k] Beſides the petition after-mentioned, another proof of the prevalency of the puritans among the commons was their paſſing a bill for the reverent obſervance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of thoſe amuſements, which they were accuſtomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a ſtrong ſymptom of a contrary ſpirit in the upper houſe, that they propoſed to add Wedneſday to the faſt days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of fleſh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373.

were

were content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addreſſed to her majeſty, which would have given offence, but to the houſe of lords, or rather the biſhops, who had a ſeat in that houſe, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation [1]: A ſtrange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the commons!

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

THE commons deſired in their humble petition, that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe his function of ordination but with the conſent and concurrence of ſix preſbyters: But this demand, as it really introduced a change of eccleſiaſtical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They deſired, that no clergyman ſhould be inſtituted into any benefice, without previous warning being given to the pariſh, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: An attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the ſame fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed, that the biſhops ſhould not inſiſt upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the ſervice: As if uniformity in public worſhip had not been eſtabliſhed by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a diſpenſing power. They complained of abuſes, which prevailed, in pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of ſome law for the remedy of theſe abuſes: Implying, that thoſe matters were too high for the commons of themſelves to meddle with them.

BUT the moſt material article, which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a ſubject of ſuch importance as to merit ſome explanation.

[1] D'Ewes, p. 357.

CHAP. XLI.

1584. The ecclesiastical court.

THE first primate after the queen's accession, was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fines or deprivations, all the puritanical clergymen, who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophecyings*, which, she apprehended, had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence, she had, by an order of the Star Chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen, that all the spiritual authority, lodged in the prelates, was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority [m]. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum; the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to

[m] Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 410.

visit

visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make enquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways, which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex Officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines, which they levied, were merely discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment, to which they condemned any delinquent, was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no controul. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage: And the punishments, which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious princess; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

to appoint commiſſioners for exerciſing that prerogative. But prerogative in general, and eſpecially the ſupremacy, were ſuppoſed in that age to involve powers, which no law, precedent, or reaſon could limit and determine.

But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched ſo gently and ſubmiſſively on the eccleſiaſtical grievances, the queen, in a ſpeech from the throne at the end of the ſeſſion, could not forbear taking notice of their preſumption, and reproving them for thoſe murmurs, which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced ſo low as not directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them ſome general thanks for their attachment to her, and making profeſſions of affection to her ſubjects, ſhe told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a ſlander upon her, ſince ſhe was appointed *by God* ſupreme ruler over it, and no hereſies or ſchiſms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permiſſion and negligence: That ſome abuſes muſt neceſſarily have place in every thing; but ſhe warned the prelates to be watchful; for if ſhe found them careleſs of their charge, ſhe was fully determined to depoſe them: That ſhe was commonly ſuppoſed to have employed herſelf in many ſtudies, particularly philoſophical (by which, I ſuppoſe, ſhe meant theological) and ſhe would confeſs, that few, whoſe leiſure had not allowed them to make profeſſion of ſcience, had read or reflected more: That as ſhe could diſcern the preſumption of many, in curiouſly canvaſſing the ſcriptures, and ſtarting innovations, ſhe would no longer endure this licence; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the juſt mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern ſectaries: And that as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and

under

under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince [n].

FROM the whole of this transaction, we may observe, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners [o].

DURING this session of parliament, there was discovered a conspiracy, which much encreased the general animosity against the catholics, and still farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action, than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio, Campeggio, when consulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and some other catholic priests

[n] See note [R] at the end of the volume, p. 292, 386, 490.

[o] Rymer, vol. xvi.

told

CHAP. XLI. 1584.

told him, that the enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the pope's nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the sentiments of morality engraved in men's breasts, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of false religion totally to efface them; and this bigotted assassin resolved, before he came to extremity, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions, under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion: But lest he should be tempted by the opportunity to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided of every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and having made a vehement speech against the severe laws enacted this last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the house. His failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. A book, newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served farther to efface all their scruples, with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and having agreed to shoot the queen, while she should be taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if

they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty, so agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, both to them, and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and that criminal, having received sentence of death [p], suffered the punishment, which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy [q]. 1584.

THESE bloody designs now appeared every where, as the result of that bigotted spirit by which the two religions, especially the catholic, were at this time actuated. Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwic, somewhat disordered in his understanding, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics and persecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but having betrayed his design by some extravagances, he was thrown into prison, and there perished by a voluntary death [r]. About the same time, Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook, and executed the same design against the prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands of a desperate assassin, who, with a resolution worthy of a better cause, sacrificed his own life, in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, The affairs of the Low Countries.

[p] State Trials, vol. i. p. 103 & seq. Strype, vol. iii. p. 255, & seq.
[q] See note [S] at the end of the volume. [r] Camden, p. 495.

who

CHAP. XLI.

who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great sorrow, as well when they considered the miserable
1584. end of so brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition, from the loss of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progress of the Spanish arms. The prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and had laid close siege to Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes, which remained to them, arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success in France; and in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered
1585. him the sovereignty of their provinces. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which, he thought, would have delivered him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the king of Navarre, a professed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal, in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life, the catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere hypocrisy and deceit. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war against the hugonots, and to put arms into the hands

of

of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretenſions at home, and their cloſe alliance with Philip, he ſecretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Conſtrained by the ſame policy, he dreaded the danger of aſſociating himſelf with the revolted proteſtants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himſelf for all the hoſtile intrigues and enterprizes of Philip. 1585.

THE States, reduced to this extremity, ſent over a ſolemn embaſſy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their ſovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and aſſiſtance. Elizabeth's wiſeſt counſellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct, which ſhe ſhould hold in this critical and important emergence. Some adviſed her to reject the offer of the States, and repreſented the imminent dangers, as well as injuſtice, attending the acceptance of it. They ſaid, that the ſuppreſſion of rebellious ſubjects was the common cauſe of all ſovereigns, and any encouragement, given to the revolt of the Flemings, might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the Engliſh: That though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppreſs their ſubjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their ſovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or diſguſt, or even from the juſteſt ground of complaint, their obedience to any other maſter: That the queen, in the ſuccours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had conſidered them as labouring under oppreſſion, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admoniſh Philip not to perſevere in his tyranny, without any view of raviſhing from him theſe provinces, which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his anceſtors: That her ſituation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch ſufficient opportunity of retaliating

CHAP. XLI. 1585.

upon her; and she must henceforth expect, that, instead of secretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: That the pope would undoubtedly unite his spiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: And that the queen would soon repent her making so precarious an acquisition in foreign countries, by exposing her own dominions to the most imminent danger [s].

Other counsellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They asserted, that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at present, the choice, whether she should embrace friendship or hostility with Philip: That by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct it appeared, that his sole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire subjection of the protestants, under the specious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: That the provocations, which she had already given him, joined to his general scheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as soon as he had subdued his revolted subjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceless state: That the only question was, whether she would maintain a war abroad, and supported by allies, or wait till the subjection of all the confederates of England should give her enemies leisure to begin their hostilities in the bowels of that kingdom: That the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, possessed still considerable force; and by the assistance of England, by the advantages of their situation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might still be enabled to maintain the contest against the Spanish monarchy: That their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire security on the side from which alone she could

[s] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

be

be assaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: That a war, which was necessary, could never be unjust; and self-defence was concerned, as well in warding certain dangers at a distance, as in repelling any immediate invasion: And that, since hostility with Spain was the unavoidable consequence of the present interests and situations of the two monarchies, it were better to compensate that danger and loss by the acquisition of such important provinces to the English empire [t].

CHAP. XLI. 1585.

Amidst these opposite counsels, the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: But foreseeing, that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: That she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others, whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expences should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should,

[t] Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

in

CHAP. XLI.

in the mean time, be consigned into her hands, by way of security.

1585. THE queen knew that this measure would immediately engage her in open hostilities with Philip; yet was not she terrified with the view of the present greatness of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, besides securing internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him master of many settlements in the East-Indies and of the whole commerce of those regions, and had much encreased his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with their dependant principalities, was closely connected with him, and was ready to supply him with troops for every enterprize. All the treasures of the West-Indies were in his possession; and the present scarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extensive. The Netherlands seemed on the point of relapsing into servitude; and small hopes were entertained of their withstanding those numerous and veteran armies, which, under the command of the most experienced generals, he employed against them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Austrian greatness, had lost all her force from intestine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were closely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation, than a diminution, of his power. Upon the whole, such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly

openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war [u]. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprising in her natural temper: She ever needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than restrained by the prudence of her ministers: But when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole force of the catholic monarch. CHAP. XLI. 1585.

THE earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Russell, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received, on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town, through which he passed, expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. The States, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him, in some respects, as their sovereign. But this step had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was displeased with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and

[u] Camden, p. 508.

CHAP. XLI.

it was with some difficulty, that, after many humble submissions, they were able to appease her.

1585. Hostilities with Spain.

AMERICA was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested on that quarter. The great success of the Spaniards and Portugueze in both Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more that of colonies, is slow and gradual, it was happy, that a war, in this critical period, had opened a more flattering prospect to the avarice and ambition of the English, and had tempted them, by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprizes. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West-Indies: Two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board of it: Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed

1586. January.

to Hispaniola; and easily making themselves master of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida. Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony, which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry, on which they are founded; they had here been so unsuccessful,

ceſsful, that the miſerable planters abandoned their ſet- CHAP. XLI.
tlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with ſo much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in thoſe countries as ſerved extremely to enflame the ſpirits of the nation to future enterprizes. The great mortality, which the climate had produced in his fleet, was, as is uſual, but a feeble reſtraint on the avidity and ſanguine hopes of young adventurers [w]. It is thought that Drake's fleet firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into England. 1586.

THE enterprizes of Leiceſter were much leſs ſucceſsful than thoſe of Drake. This man poſſeſſed neither courage nor capacity, equal to the truſt repoſed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice ſhe made for any conſiderable employment, men naturally believed, that ſhe had here been influenced by an affection ſtill more partial than that of friendſhip. He gained at firſt ſome advantage in an action againſt the Spaniards; and threw ſuccours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: But the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all theſe efforts uſeleſs. He capitulated after a feeble reſiſtance; and being tried for his conduct, ſuffered a capital puniſhment from the ſentence of a court martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which was ſurrendered to him, after ſome reſiſtance. The fate of Nuys was more diſmal; being taken by aſſault, while the garriſon was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards beſieged by the Spaniards; and Leiceſter, thinking himſelf too weak to attempt raiſing the ſiege, endeavoured to

[w] Camden, p. 509.

CHAP. XLI. 1586.

draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprize. He first attacked Doesberg, and succeeded: He then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress, that he hastened to its relief. He made the marquess of Guasto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the marquess of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman, that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit, which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester, was wholly employed in the encouragemeut of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, *This man's necessity is still greater than mine:* And resigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, struck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses,

verſes, which he compoſed on the death of that young hero. CHAP. XLI.

1586.

THE Engliſh, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were ſtrongly poſſeſſed of military genius; and the advantages, gained by the prince of Parma, were not attributed to the ſuperior bravery and diſcipline of the Spaniards, but ſolely to the miſconduct of Leiceſter. The States were much diſcontented with his management of the war; ſtill more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign, they applied to him for a redreſs of all their grievances. But Leiceſter, without giving them any ſatisfaction, departed ſoon after for England [x].

THE queen, while ſhe provoked ſo powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to ſecure herſelf on the ſide of Scotland; and ſhe endeavoured both to cultivate the friendſhip and alliance of her kinſman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt, which ſhe had made ſome time before, was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had diſpatched Wotton as her ambaſſador to Scotland; but though ſhe gave him private inſtructions with regard to her affairs, ſhe informed James, that, when ſhe had any political buſineſs to diſcuſs with him, ſhe would employ another miniſter; that this man was not fitted for ſerious negociations; and that her chief purpoſe in ſending him, was to entertain the king with witty and facetious converſation, and to partake without reſerve of his pleaſures and amuſements. Wotton was maſter of profound diſſimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careleſs gaiety, the deepeſt deſigns, and moſt dangerous artifices. When but a youth

[x] Camden, p. 512. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. 4.

CHAP. XLI. 1586.

of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambaſſador in France during the reign of Mary, to enſnare the conſtable, Montmorency; and had not his purpoſe been fruſtrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged miniſter. It is no wonder, that, after years had ſo much improved him in all the arts of deceit, he ſhould gain an aſcendant over a young prince, of ſo open and unguarded a temper as James; eſpecially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleaſures of the king; made himſelf maſter of his ſecrets; and had ſo much the more authority with him in political tranſactions, as he did not ſeem to pay the leaſt attention or regard to theſe matters. The Scotch miniſters, who obſerved the growing intereſt of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendſhip; and ſcrupled not to ſacrifice to his intrigues the moſt eſſential intereſts of their maſter. Elizabeth's uſual jealouſies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled againſt James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, ſhe was apprehenſive, leſt, by being ſtrengthened with children and alliances, he ſhould acquire the greater intereſt and authority with her Engliſh ſubjects. She directed Wotton to form a ſecret concert with ſome Scottiſh noblemen, and to procure their promiſe, that James, during three years, ſhould not, on any account, be permitted to marry. In conſequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland, on pretence of demanding reſtitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a propoſal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is ſaid to have employed his intrigues to purpoſes ſtill more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conſpiracy with ſome malcontents, to ſeize the perſon of the king, and to deliver

him

him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the design, but would have been sure to retain him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king [y]. 1586.

James's situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension, equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased [z]. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was stipulated, that, if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that, if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as religion was concerned [a].

By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the con-

y Melvil. z Spotswood, p. 351. a Ibid. p. 349. Camden, p. 513. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 803.

CHAP. XLI. 1586.

fidence and affections of the Engliſh, and might entertain ſome proſpect of domeſtic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Beſides the turbulent diſpoſition, and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottiſh government, the ſpirit of fanaticiſm had introduced a new diſorder; ſo much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by falſe opinion, is not reſtrained by any rules of morality, and is even ſcarcely to be accounted for in its operations, by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The inſolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had, at this time, reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance ſo far, not only againſt the king, but againſt the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, becauſe he had been active in parliament for promoting a law, which reſtrained their ſeditious ſermons [b]: Nor could that prelate ſave himſelf by any expedient from this terrible ſentence, but by renouncing all pretenſions to eccleſiaſtical authority. One Gibſon ſaid in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife, Jezabel, had been deemed the chief perſecutors of the church; but it was now ſeen, that the king himſelf was the great offender: And for this crime the preacher denounced againſt him the curſe which fell on Jeroboam, that he ſhould die childleſs, and be the laſt of his race [c].

THE ſecretary, perceiving the king ſo much moleſted with eccleſiaſtical affairs, and with the refractory diſpoſition of the clergy, adviſed him to leave them to their own courſes: For that in a ſhort time they would become ſo intolerable, that the people would riſe againſt

[b] Spotſwood, p. 345, 346. [c] Ibid. p. 344.

them,

them, and chace them out of the country. "True," replied the king: "If I purpoſed to undo the church and "religion, your counſel were good: But my intention "is to maintain both; therefore cannot I ſuffer the "clergy to follow ſuch a conduct, as will in the end "bring religion into contempt and deriſion [d]."

CHAP. XLI. 1586.

[d] Spotſwood, p. 348.

## CHAP. XLII.

*Zeal of the catholics——Babington's conſpiracy——Mary aſſents to the conſpiracy——The conſpirators ſeized and executed——Reſolution to try the queen of Scots——The commiſſioners prevail on her to ſubmit to the trial——The trial——Sentence againſt Mary——Interpoſition of king James——Reaſons for the execution of Mary——The execution——Mary's character——The queen's affected ſorrow——Drake deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz——Philip projects the invaſion of England——The invincible armada——Preparations in England——The armada arrives in the channel——Defeated——A parliament——Expedition againſt Portugal——Affairs of Scotland.*

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

THE dangers, which aroſe from the character, principles, and pretenſions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to conſult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princeſs, the dictates of jealouſy and politics, rather than of friendſhip or generoſity: Reſentment of this uſage had puſhed Mary into enterprizes, which had nearly threatened the repoſe and authority of Elizabeth: The rigour and reſtraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen [e], ſtill impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge [f], and her high ſpirit concurred with

[e] Digges, p. 139. Haynes, p. 607.

[f] See note [T] at the end of the volume.

religious

religious zeal, and the ſuggeſtions of deſperate bigots, ſhe was at laſt engaged in deſigns, which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reaſon for effecting her final ruin. 1586.

Zeal of the catholics.

THE Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims had wrought themſelves up to a high pitch of rage and animoſity againſt the queen. The recent perſecutions, from which they had eſcaped; the new rigours, which, they knew, awaited them in the courſe of their miſſions; the liberty, which for the preſent they enjoyed, of declaiming againſt that princeſs; and the contagion of that religious fury, which every where ſurrounded them in France: All theſe cauſes had obliterated with them every maxim of common ſenſe, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and depoſed the queen; and ſome of them had gone to that height of extravagance, as to aſſert, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghoſt. The aſſaſſination of heretical ſovereigns, and of that princeſs in particular, was repreſented as the moſt meritorious of all enterprizes; and they taught, that, whoever periſhed in ſuch pious attempts, enjoyed without diſpute the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By ſuch doctrines, they inſtigated John Savage, a man of deſperate courage, who had ſerved ſome years in the Low Countries, under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this aſſaſſin, having made a vow to perſevere in his deſign, was ſent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics.

ABOUT the ſame time, John Ballard, a prieſt of that ſeminary, had returned to Paris from his miſſion in England and Scotland; and as he had obſerved a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the catholic

CHAP. XLII.

1586.

tholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring by force of arms the exercise of the ancient religion in England [g]. The situation of affairs abroad seemed favourable to this enterprize: The pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, concurring in interests, had formed a resolution to make some attempt upon the queen: And Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic and a devoted partizan of the queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintained, that, so long as that princess was allowed to live, it was vain to expect any success from an enterprize upon England. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, saw more clearly the necessity of executing the design, formed at Rheims: He came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue: And he bent his endeavours to effectuate at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion [h].

Babington's conspiracy.

THE first person, to whom he addressed himself, was Anthony Babington of Dethic in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed a plentiful fortune, had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Being zealously devoted to the catholic communion, he had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigotted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishments and heroical virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded mind of young Ba-

[g] Murden's State Papers, p. 517.

[h] Camden, p. 515.

bington to make ſome attempt for her ſervice; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal to give him a contempt of thoſe dangers, which attended any enterprize againſt the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well diſpoſed for their purpoſe, they ſent him back to England, and ſecretly, unknown to himſelf, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a perſon worth engaging in her ſervice. She wrote him a letter, full of friendſhip and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper and zealous in his principles, thought, that theſe advances now bound him in honour to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of that unfortunate princeſs. During ſome time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correſpondence; but after ſhe was put under the cuſtody of Sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced ſo much difficulty and danger in rendering her this ſervice, that he had deſiſted from every attempt of that nature. 1586.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal ſuſpended, not extinguiſhed: His former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprize, which ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs in the cauſe of Mary and of the catholic religion. He had entertained ſentiments conformable to thoſe of Paget, and repreſented the folly of all attempts, which, during the life-time of Elizabeth, could be formed againſt the eſtabliſhed religion and government of England. Ballard encouraged by this hint, proceeded to diſcover to him the deſign undertaken by Savage[1]; and was pleaſed to obſerve, that, inſtead of being ſhocked with that project, Babington only thought it not ſecure enough, when entruſted to one ſingle hand, and propoſed to join four others with Savage in this deſperate enterprize.

[1] Ibid. State Trials, p. 114.

In

CHAP. XLII.

1586.

In profecution of theſe views, Babington employed himſelf in encreaſing the number of his aſſociates; and he ſecretly drew into the conſpiracy many catholic gentlemen, diſcontented with the preſent government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, and Abington, whoſe father had been cofferer to the houſehold, readily undertook the aſſaſſination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Titchborne of Southampton, when the deſign was propoſed to them, expreſſed ſome ſcruples, which were at laſt removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refuſed during ſome time to ſhare the glory of the enterprize with any others [k]; he challenged the whole to himſelf; and it was with ſome difficulty he was induced to depart from this prepoſterous ambition.

The delivery of the queen of Scots, at the very ſame inſtant, when Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated, was requiſite for effecting the purpoſe of the conſpirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of an hundred horſe, to attack her guards, while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback. In this enterprize, he engaged Edward Windſor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Saliſbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones and Henry Donne; moſt of them men of family and intereſt. The conſpirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of name, whom they might place at the head of the enterprize; but they truſted, that the great events, of the queen's death and Mary's delivery, would rouze all the zealous catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confuſion, would eaſily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-eſtabliſh the antient religion.

These deſperate projects had not eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walſingham, ſe-

[k] State Trials, vol. i. p. 111.

cretary of ſtate. That artful miniſter had engaged Maud, a catholic prieſt, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the deſigns, entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his ſpies, had found means to inſinuate himſelf among the conſpirators in England: and though not entirely truſted, had obtained ſome inſight into their dangerous ſecrets. But the bottom of the conſpiracy was never fully known, till Gifford, a ſeminary prieſt, came over, and made a tender of his ſervices to Walſingham. By his means, the diſcovery became of the utmoſt importance, and involved the fate of Mary, as well as of thoſe zealous partizans of that princeſs. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

BABINGTON and his aſſociates, having laid ſuch a plan, as, they thought, promiſed infallible ſucceſs, were impatient to communicate the deſign to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this ſervice, they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walſingham, that the intereſt of that miniſter might forward his ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Walſingham propoſed the matter to Paulet, and deſired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his ſervants: But Paulet, averſe to the introducing of ſuch a pernicious precedent into his family, deſired, that they would rather think of ſome other expedient. Gifford found a brewer, who ſupplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thruſt through a chink in the wall; and anſwers were returned by the ſame conveyance.

BALLARD and Babington were at firſt diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: But finding by the anſwers, that theſe had been faithfully delivered, they laid aſide all farther ſcruple, and conveyed by his hands

CHAP. XLII.

1586.

hands the most criminal and dangerous parts of their conspiracy. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her delivery, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal, which they bore to the catholic cause and her majesty's service, would undertake the *tragical execution*.

Mary assents to the conspiracy.

Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards, which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own delivery or an insurrection [1]. These letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Ingelfield, were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk; and copies taken of them. Walsingham employed another artifice, in order to obtain full insight into the plot: He subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cypher; in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The indiscretion of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection, as well as of defence. That gentlemen had made a picture be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins; and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins and guard herself against their approach to her person.

MEANWHILE, Babington, anxious to ensure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to dispatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned

[1] State Trials, vol. i. p. 135. Camden, p. 515.

name,

name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing that confidence, which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised, that they should immediately make their escape: Others proposed, that Savage and Charnoc should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good cloaths, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day, they began to apprehend, that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to take lodgings secretly in Walsingham's house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: But observing, that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

The conspirators seized and executed.

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

demned and executed: Of whom, ſeven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the reſt were convicted by evidence.

September.

THE leſſer conſpirators being diſpatched, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots; on whoſe account, and with whoſe concurrence, theſe attempts had been made againſt the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counſellors were averſe to this procedure; and thought, that the cloſe confinement of a woman, who was become very ſickly, and who would probably put a ſpeedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give ſufficient ſecurity to the government, without attempting a meaſure, of which there ſcarcely remains any example in hiſtory. Leiceſter adviſed, that Mary ſhould be ſecretly diſpatched by poiſon, and he ſent a divine to convince Walſingham of the lawfulneſs of that action: But Walſingham declared his abhorrence of it; and inſiſted ſtill, in conjunction with the majority of the counſellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots. The ſituation of England, and of the Engliſh miniſters had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No ſucceſſor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied injuries, an enemy to the miniſters and principal nobility: And their perſonal ſafety, as well as that of the public, ſeemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now ſomewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counſellors, knowing themſelves to be ſo obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to puſh every meaſure to extremity againſt her; and were even more anxious than the queen herſelf, to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

CHAP. XLII.

1586.

THOUGH all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great ſurpriſe to her, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were diſcovered and arreſted. He choſe the time for giving her this intelligence, when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting; and ſhe was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the laſt ſtage of her trial and ſufferings. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arreſted: All her papers were ſeized, and ſent up to the council: Above ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered: There were alſo found many letters from perſons beyond ſea; and ſeveral too from Engliſh noblemen, containing expreſſions of reſpect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this laſt diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, knowing their correſpondence to be detected, thought, that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than declaring themſelves thenceforth the moſt inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots [m].

Reſolution to try the queen of Scots.

IT was reſolved to try Mary, not by the common ſtatute of treaſons, but by the act which had paſſed the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy-counſellors, and empowered them to examine and paſs ſentence on Mary, whom ſhe denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commiſſioners came to Fotheringay caſtle, and ſent to her Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias

[m] Camden, p. 518.

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commiſſion, and of the approaching trial. Mary received the intelligence without emotion or aſtoniſhment. She ſaid, however, that it ſeemed ſtrange to her, that the queen ſhould command her, as a ſubject, to ſubmit to a trial and examination before ſubjects: That ſhe was an abſolute independant princeſs, and would yield to nothing, which might derogate either from her royal majeſty, from the ſtate of ſovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her ſon: That, however oppreſſed by misfortunes and calamities, ſhe was not yet ſo much broken in ſpirit, as her enemies flattered themſelves; nor would ſhe, on any account, be acceſſary to her own degradation and diſhonour: That ſhe was ignorant of the laws and ſtatutes of England; was utterly deſtitute of council; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally ſit as judges on her trial: That though ſhe had lived in England for many years, ſhe had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, ſhe could not, merely by her involuntary reſidence in the country, be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction and authority: That notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of her rank, ſhe was willing to give an account of her conduct before an Engliſh parliament; but could not view theſe commiſſioners in any other light, than as men appointed to juſtify, by ſome colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: And that ſhe warned them to look to their conſcience and their character, in trying an innocent perſon; and to reflect, that theſe tranſactions would ſomewhere be ſubject to reviſion, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

In return, the commiſſioners ſent a new deputation, informing her, that her plea, either from her royal dignity

nity or from her impriſonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though ſhe ſhould refuſe to appear before them. Burleigh, the treaſurer, and Bromley, the chancellor, employed much reaſoning to make her ſubmit; but the perſon, whoſe arguments had the chief influence, was Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His ſpeech was to this purpoſe. "You are accuſed, Madam," ſaid he, "but not condemned, of having conſpired the deſtruc-"tion of our lady and queen anointed. You ſay, you "are a queen: But, in ſuch a crime as this, and ſuch "a ſituation as yours, the royal dignity itſelf, neither "by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or "of nations, is exempt from judgment. If you be inno-"cent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. "We have been preſent at your proteſtations of inno-"cence: But queen Elizabeth thinks otherwiſe; and is "heartily ſorry for the appearances, which lie againſt "you. To examine, therefore, your cauſe, ſhe has "appointed commiſſioners; honourable perſons, prudent "and upright men, who are ready to hear you with "equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you "can clear yourſelf of the imputations, which have "been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the "queen herſelf will rejoice, who affirmed to me at my "departure, that nothing, which ever befel her, had "given her ſo much uneaſineſs, as that you ſhould be "ſuſpected of a concurrence in theſe criminal enterprizes. "Laying aſide, therefore, the fruitleſs claim of privi-"lege from your royal dignity, which can now avail "you nothing, truſt to the better defence of your inno-"cence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not "upon your memory that ſtain of infamy, which muſt "attend your obſtinate ſilence on this occaſion[n]."

1586. The commiſſioners prevail on her to ſubmit to the trial.

[n] Camden. p. 523.

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

By this artful ſpeech, Mary was perſuaded to anſwer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented thoſe difficulties, which the commiſſioners muſt have fallen into, had ſhe perſevered in maintaining ſo ſpecious a plea as that of her ſovereign and independant character. Her conduct in this particular muſt be regarded as the more imprudent; becauſe formerly, when Elizabeth's commiſſioners pretended not to exerciſe any juriſdiction over her, and only entered into her cauſe by her own conſent and approbation, ſhe declined juſtifying herſelf, when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, ſeemed abſolutely to require it.

The trial.

On her firſt appearance before the commiſſioners, Mary, either ſenſible of her imprudence, or ſtill unwilling to degrade herſelf by ſubmitting to a trial, renewed her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges: The chancellor anſwered her by pleading the ſupreme authority of the Engliſh laws over every one who reſided in England: And the commiſſioners accommodated matters, by ordering both her proteſtation and his anſwer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge againſt the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that ſhe had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that ſhe had kept a correſpondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in a view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary ſeemed not anxious to clear herſelf from either of theſe imputations. She only ſaid, that ſhe could not hinder others from uſing what ſtyle they pleaſed in writing to her; and that ſhe might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which ſhe promiſed to transfer to Philip her

her right to the kingdom of England, if her ſon ſhould refuſe to be converted to the catholic faith; an event, ſhe there ſaid, of which there was no expectation, while he remained in the hands of his Scottiſh ſubjects [o]. Even this part of the charge, ſhe took no pains to deny, or rather ſhe ſeemed to acknowledge it. She ſaid, that ſhe had no kingdoms to diſpoſe of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleaſure what was her own, and ſhe was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that ſhe had formerly rejected that propoſal from Spain; but now, ſince all her hopes in England were gone, ſhe was fully determined not to refuſe foreign aſſiſtance. There was alſo produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parſons were at that very time negociating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring her Engliſh crown to the king of Spain, and of diſinheriting her heretical ſon [p]. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices againſt her ſon were, at this time, carried ſo far, that ſhe had even entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had inſtigated her adherents to ſeize James's perſon and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered but on condition of his becoming catholic [q].

The only part of the charge, which Mary poſitively denied, was her concurrence in the deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. This article indeed was the moſt heavy, and the only one, which could fully juſtify the queen in proceeding to extremities againſt her. In order to prove the accuſation, there were produced the following evidence: Copies taken in ſecretary Walſingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her

[o] State Trials, vol. i. p. 138. [p] See note [U] at the end of the volume. [q] See note [X] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

approbation of the murder was clearly expreſſed; the evidence of her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, who had ſworn, without being put to any torture, both that ſhe received theſe letters from Babington, and that they had written the anſwers, by her order; the confeſſion of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the anſwers [q]; and the confeſſion of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had ſhowed them theſe letters of Mary written in the cypher, which had been ſettled between them.

It is evident, that this complication of evidence, though every circumſtance corroborates the general concluſion, reſolves itſelf finally into the teſtimony of the two ſecretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their miſtreſs's concurrence in Babington's conſpiracy, but who knew themſelves expoſed to all the rigors of impriſonment, torture, and death, if they refuſed to give any evidence, which might be required of them. In the caſe of an ordinary criminal, this proof with all its diſadvantages, would be eſteemed legal, and even ſatisfactory, if not oppoſed by ſome other circumſtances, which ſhake the credit of the witneſſes: But on the preſent trial, where the abſolute power of the proſecutor concurred with ſuch important intereſts and ſuch a violent inclination to have the princeſs condemned; the teſtimony of two witneſſes, even though men of character, ought to be ſupported by ſtrong probabilities, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of tyranny and injuſtice. The proof againſt Mary, it muſt be confeſſed, is not deſtitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to account for Babington's receiving an anſwer, written in her name, and in the cypher concerted between them, without allowing, that the matter had been communicated to that princeſs. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has diſcovered every thing, which could

[q] State Trials, vol. i. p. 113.

guide

guide our judgment with regard to it: No wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unaſſiſted by council, and confounded by ſo extraordinary a trial, found herſelf incapable of making a ſatisfactory defence before the commiſſioners. Her reply conſiſted chiefly in her own denial: Whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened, by her poſitively affirming, that ſhe never had had any correſpondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the leaſt queſtion[r]. She aſſerted, that, as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of ſecreſy and fidelity to her, their evidence againſt her ought not to be credited. She confeſſed, however, that Nau had been in the ſervice of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom ſhe might ſafely confide. She alſo acknowledged Curle to be a very honeſt man, but ſimple, and eaſily impoſed on by Nau. If theſe two men had received any letters, or had written any anſwers, without her knowledge; the imputation, ſhe ſaid, could never lie on her. And ſhe was the more inclined, ſhe added, to entertain this ſuſpicion againſt them, becauſe Nau had, in other inſtances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to tranſact buſineſs in her name, without communicating the matter to her[s]. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

THE ſole circumſtance of her defence, which to us may appear to have ſome force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle ſhould be confronted with her, and her affirming that they never would to her face perſiſt in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then ſupported by law in trials of high treaſon, and was often refuſed even in other trials, where the crown was proſecutor. The clauſe, contained in an act of the 13th of the queen, was a novelty; that the ſpecies of

[r] See note [Y] at the end of the volume. [s] See note [Z] at the end of the volume.

treaſon

CHAP. XLII.

1586.

treaſon there enumerated muſt be proved by two witneſſes, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the miniſters and crown lawyers of this reign were always ſure to refuſe every indulgence beyond what the ſtrict letter of the law and the ſettled practice of the courts of juſtice required of them. Not to mention, that theſe ſecretaries were not probably at Fotheringay-caſtle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commiſſioners [u].

THERE paſſed two incidents in this trial, which may be worth obſerving. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers: On hearing their names ſhe broke into a ſigh, "Alas," ſaid ſhe, "what has the "noble houſe of the Howards ſuffered for my ſake!" She affirmed, with regard to the ſame letter, that it was eaſy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another; ſhe was afraid, that this was too familiar a practice with Walſingham, who, ſhe alſo heard, had frequently practiſed both againſt her life and her ſon's. Walſingham, who was one of the commiſſioners, roſe up. He proteſted, that, in his private capacity, he had never acted any thing againſt the queen of Scots: In his public capacity, he owned, that, his concern for his ſovereign's ſafety had made him very diligent in ſearching out, by every expedient, all deſigns againſt her ſacred perſon or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make uſe of the aſſiſtance of Ballard or any other conſpirator: He would alſo reward them for betraying

[u] Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that purpoſe, to Burleigh and Walſingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in Forbes's MS. collections. She only ſays, that ſhe thinks it needleſs, though ſhe was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witneſſes was not the reſult of deſign, but the practice of the age.

their

their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner, unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuſe him of ſuch practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by ſaying that ſhe ſpoke from information; and ſhe begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to ſuch as ſlandered her, than ſhe ſhould to ſuch as accuſed him. The great character indeed, which Sir Francis Walſingham bears for probity and honour, ſhould remove from him all ſuſpicion of ſuch baſe arts as forgery and ſubornation; arts, which even the moſt corrupt miniſters, in the moſt corrupt times, would ſcruple to employ. CHAP. XLII. 1586.

HAVING finiſhed the trial, the commiſſioners adjourned from Fotheringay-caſtle, and met in the Star Chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two ſecretaries, who, voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of thoſe letters before produced, they pronounced ſentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their ſeals and ſubſcriptions. The ſame day, a declaration was publiſhed by the commiſſioners and the judges, "that the ſentence did no-"wiſe derogate from the title and honour of James, "king of Scotland; but that he was in the ſame place, "degree, and right, as if the ſentence had never been "pronounced [w]." 25th Octob. Sentence againſt Mary.

THE queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that ſituation, which ſhe had long ardently deſired; and had found a plauſible reaſon for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom, from the beginning of her reign, ſhe had ever equally dreaded and hated. But ſhe was reſtrained from inſtantly gratifying her reſentment, by ſeveral important conſiderations. She foreſaw the invidious colours, in which this example of uncommon juriſdiction

[w] Camden, p. 526.

would

CHAP. XLII.

1586. would be represented by the numerous partizans of Mary, and the reproach, to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, of kindred, and of royal majesty, seemed, in one signal instance, to be all violated; and this sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a sovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence; affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed, that, were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries, which she herself had received from the queen of Scots.

29th Octob. THAT the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of justice upon Mary, she summoned a new parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and from the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest solicitation to consent to that measure, which was so agreeable to her secret inclinations. She did not open this assembly in person, but appointed for that purpose three commissioners, Bromley, the chancellor, Burleigh, the treasurer, and the earl of Derby. The reason assigned for this measure, was, that the queen, foreseeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvassed in parliament, found her tenderness and delicacy so much hurt by that melancholy incident, that she had not the courage to be present while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what she could not behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness. She was also willing, that, by this unusual precaution, the

the people ſhould ſee the danger, to which her perſon was hourly expoſed; and ſhould thence be more ſtrongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whoſe reſtleſs intrigues and bloody conſpiracies had ſo long expoſed her to the moſt imminent perils [x]. 1586.

THE parliament anſwered the queen's expectations: The ſentence againſt Mary was unanimouſly ratified by both houſes; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's conſent to its publication and execution [y]. She gave an anſwer ambiguous, embarraſſed; full of real artifice, and ſeeming irreſolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually expoſed; ſhe declared her willingneſs to die, did ſhe not foreſee the great calamities, which would thence fall upon the nation; ſhe made profeſſions of the greateſt tenderneſs to her people; ſhe diſplayed the clemency of her temper, and expreſſed her violent reluctance to proceed to extremities againſt her unhappy kinſwoman; ſhe affirmed, that the late law, by which that princeſs was tried, ſo far from being made to enſnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in ſuch attempts, as might expoſe her to the penalties, with which ſhe was thus openly menaced; and ſhe begged them to think once again, whether it were poſſible to find any expedient, beſides the death of the queen of Scots, for ſecuring the public tranquillity [z]. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under conſideration; but could find no other poſſible expedient. They reiterated their ſolicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: They even remonſtrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her ſubjects and children: And they affirmed, that it were injuſtice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more, to the whole body of the people,

[x] D'Ewes, p. 375. [y] Ibid. p. 379. [z] Ibid. p. 402, 403.

now

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

now unanimouſly and earneſtly ſuing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderneſs. This ſecond addreſs ſet the pretended doubts and ſcruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: She complained of her own unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed her uneaſineſs from their importunity; renewed the profeſſions of affection to her people; and diſmiſſed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty, what, after all this deliberation, might be her final reſolution [a].

But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt Mary, ſhe complied with the requeſt of parliament in publiſhing it by proclamation; and this act ſeemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk of the council, were ſent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the ſentence pronounced againſt her, its ratification by parliament, and the earneſt applications made for its execution by that aſſembly, who thought, that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, attain a full ſettlement and ſecurity. Mary was nowiſe diſmayed at this intelligence: On the contrary, ſhe joyfully laid hold of the laſt circumſtance mentioned to her; and inſiſted, that, ſince her death was demanded by the proteſtants for the eſtabliſhment of their faith, ſhe was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits, attending that glorious character. She added, that the Engliſh had often embrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereigns: No wonder, they exerciſed cruelty againſt her, who derived her deſcent from theſe monarchs [b]. Paulet, her keeper, received orders to take down her canopy, and to ſerve her no longer with that reſpect due to ſovereign princes. He told her, that ſhe was now to be conſidered as a dead perſon; and incapable of any dignity [c]. This harſh treatment produced

[a] See note [AA] at the end of the volume. [b] Camden, p. 528.
[c] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 293.

not

not in her any ſeeming emotion. She only replied, that ſhe received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it. 1586.

THE queen of Scots wrote her laſt letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that ſpirit of meekneſs and of charity, which appeared ſuitable to this concluding ſcene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal ſentence: On the contrary, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a ſpeedy period her ſad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requeſted ſome favours of Elizabeth, and intreated her, that ſhe might be beholden for them to her own goodneſs alone, without making applications to thoſe miniſters, who had diſcovered ſuch an extreme malignity againſt her perſon and her religion. She deſired, that, after her enemies ſhould be ſatiated with her innocent blood, her body, which, it was determined, ſhould never enjoy reſt, while her ſoul was united to it, might be conſigned to her ſervants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repoſe in a catholic land, with the ſacred reliques of her mother. In Scotland, ſhe ſaid, the ſepulchres of her anceſtors were violated, and the churches either demoliſhed or profaned; and in England, where ſhe might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, ſhe could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with thoſe rites and ceremonies, which her religion required. She requeſted, that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution ſhould be public, and attended by her ancient ſervants, who might bear teſtimony of her perſeverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of Heaven. She begged, that theſe ſervants might afterwards be allowed to depart whitherſoever they pleaſed, and might enjoy

CHAP. XLII.

1586.

enjoy thoſe legacies, which ſhe ſhould bequeath them. And ſhe conjured her to grant theſe favours, by their near kindred; by the ſoul and memory of Henry VII. the common anceſtor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated [d]. Elizabeth made no anſwer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refuſal in her preſent ſituation, and foreſeeing inconveniencies from granting ſome of her requeſts.

WHILE the queen of Scots thus prepared herſelf to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth to prevent the execution of the ſentence, pronounced againſt her. Beſides employing L'Aubeſpine, the French reſident at London, a creature of the houſe of Guiſe, Henry ſent over Bellievre, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guiſe and the league, at that time, threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that, though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himſelf obliged to interpoſe publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not ſecretly be much diſpleaſed with the death of a princeſs, on whoſe fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded ſo many daring and ambitious projects [e]. It is even pretended, that Bellievre had orders, after making public and vehement remonſtrances againſt the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his maſter's name, not to defer an act of juſtice, ſo neceſſary for their common ſafety [f]. But whether the French king's interceſſion was ſincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her former reſolution.

Interpoſition of king James.

THE interpoſition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, ſeemed, on every account, to merit more regard. So ſoon as James

[d] Camden, p. 529. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 295. [e] Camden, p. 494.
[f] Du Maurier.

heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. He said, that he was astonished to hear of the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgment and pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the blood royal of England; but he was still more astonished to hear, that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution: That he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour, which she should draw on her name by embruing her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity and of the same sex with herself: That, in this unparalleled attempt, she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own; and by reducing sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: That for his part, he must deem the injury and insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it possible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correspondence with a person, who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: And that, even if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this purpose of vengeance, his own honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use every effort, and endure every hazard, to revenge so great an indignity [g].

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

Soon after, James sent the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expedient of argu-

[g] Spotswood, p. 351.

CHAP. XLII.

1586. ment and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications; and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected, that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified; but still retained her resolution of proceeding to extremities against Mary [h]. It is believed, that the master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

The queen also, from many considerations, was induced to pay small attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts, which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and interests, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred, which the zealous protestants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy in a full light. James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it might "please God to illuminate Mary with the light of his "truth, and save her from the apparent danger, with "which she was threatened." But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refused to pollute their churchers by prayers for a papist, and would not so much as prefer a petition for her conversion. James, unwilling or unable to punish this disobedience, and desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers should be said for his

[h] Spotswood, p. 353.

mother;

mother; and that he might at leaſt ſecure himſelf from any inſult in his own preſence, he deſired the archbiſhop of St. Andrews to officiate before him. In order to diſappoint this purpoſe, the clergy inſtigated one Couper, a young man, who had not yet received holy orders, to take poſſeſſion of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and ſaw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his ſeat, and told him, that the place was deſtined for another; yet ſince he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine ſervice. The preacher replied, that he would do as the Spirit of God ſhould direct him. This anſwer ſufficiently inſtructed James in his purpoſe; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper ſeemed not diſpoſed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, That this day would be a witneſs againſt the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner [i]. The audience at firſt appeared deſirous to take part with him; but the ſermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane diſpoſition.

ELIZABETH, when ſolicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, ſeemed always determined to execute the ſentence againſt her: But when her miniſters urged her to interpoſe no more delays, her ſcruples and her heſitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace ſuch violent and ſanguinary meaſures; and ſhe was touched with compaſſion for the misfortunes, and with reſpect for the dignity, of the unhappy priſoner. The courtiers, ſenſible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her, than

[i] Spotſwood, p. 354.

CHAP. XLII.

1586. Reasons for the execution of Mary.

to employ persuasion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged against this act of justice. They said, that the treatment of that princess in England had been, on her first reception, such as sound reason and policy required; and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it: That the obvious inconveniences, either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force to her throne, in opposition to the reformers and the English party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England, till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the protestant religion: That her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants, in considerable numbers, had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these indulgences would, in time, have been carried farther, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared worthy of them: That after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her; it became necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous: That the queen, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her sagest ministers [k]; and was still, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the last extremity against her: That Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained so high and unconquerable a spirit, that she acted as com-

[k] Digges, p. 276. Strype, vol. ii. p. 48, 135, 136, 139.

petitor

petitor to the crown, and allowed her partizans every where, and in their very letters, addreſſed to herſelf, to treat her as queen of England: That ſhe had carried her animoſity ſo far as to encourage, in repeated inſtances, the atrocious deſign of aſſaſſinating the queen; and this crime was unqueſtionably proved upon her, by her own letters, by the evidence of her ſecretaries, and by the dying confeſſion of her accomplices: That ſhe was but a titular queen, and at preſent poſſeſſed no where any right of ſovereignty; much leſs in England, where, the moment ſhe ſet foot in the kingdom, ſhe voluntarily became ſubject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true ſovereign: That even allowing her to be ſtill the queen's equal in rank and dignity, ſelf-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, ſtill more a queen, had ſufficient juriſdiction over an enemy, who, by open violence, and ſtill more, who, by ſecret treachery, threatened the utmoſt danger againſt her life: That the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the proteſtants, was no longer a ſecret; and as the ſole reſource of the latter perſecuted ſect lay in Elizabeth, ſo the chief hope, which the former entertained of final ſucceſs, conſiſted in the perſon, and in the title of the queen of Scots: That this very circumſtance brought matters to extremity between theſe princeſſes; and rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to ſelf-preſervation, or to the happineſs of her people, ſhould direct her to purſue: And that neceſſity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that reſolution, which equity would authoriſe, and which duty preſcribed [1].

CHAP. XLII. 1586.

WHEN Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed, as decency required,

[1] Camden, p. 533.

CHAP. XLII. 1587. required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution: But even in this last resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed, that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated [m]. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador; and that minister was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress, to which she was reduced [n]. She at last called Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be imposed on, and who had lately, for that very reason, been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw up a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant; and then commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, some time, executing her former orders; and when Davison came and told her, that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in some perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole

[m] Camden, p. 533. [n] Ibid. p. 534.

transaction;

transaction; and they endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend off Beale with the warrant: If the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure [o]. The ſecretary, not ſufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was diſpatched to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, and ſome others, ordering them to ſee the ſentence executed upon the queen of Scots. CHAP. XLII. 1587.

THE two earls came to Fotheringay-caſtle; and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion, and deſired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She ſeemed no-wiſe terrified, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed, with the intelligence. She ſaid, with a chearful, and even a ſmiling countenance, that ſhe did not think the queen, her ſiſter, would have conſented to her death, or have executed the ſentence againſt a perſon, not ſubject to the laws and juriſdiction of England. "But as ſuch is her will," ſaid ſhe, "death, "which puts an end to all my miſeries, ſhall be to me "moſt welcome; nor can I eſteem that ſoul worthy the "felicities of heaven, which cannot ſupport the body "under the horrors of the laſt paſſage to theſe bliſsful "manſions [p]." She then requeſted the two noblemen, that they would permit ſome of her ſervants, and particularly her confeſſor, to attend her: But they told her, that compliance with this laſt demand was contrary to their conſcience [q], and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, ſhould be preſent, to 7th Feb. The execution.

[o] It appears by ſome letters publiſhed by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. 1. that Elizabeth had not expreſsly communicated her intention to any of her miniſters, not even to Burleigh: They were ſuch experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by ſerving her without waiting till ſhe deſired them.

[p] Camden, p. 534. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 301. MS. in the Advocates' Library, p. 2. from the Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9. [q] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrong, she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure, after it, to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself[r]. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted chearfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction, which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, Whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth? "They pretend," said she, "that I must "die, because I conspired against their queen's life: But "the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other "cause of my death, but the apprehensions, which, if "I should live, they entertain for their religion. My "constancy in the faith is my real crime: The rest is "only a colour, invented by interested and designing "men." Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: They pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: She deigned, in return, to

[r] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

ask

ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewel, and exchange of mutual forgiveness [s]. CHAP. XLII. 1587.

MARY's care of her servants was the sole remaining affair, which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: She ordered the inventory of her goods, cloaths, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: To some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated hoste from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her [t].

TOWARDS the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before: But it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

THOMAS ANDREWS, sheriff of the county entered the room, and informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She re-

[s] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302, 626. Camden, p. 534. [t] Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

plied,

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

plied, That she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed aspect. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her; and, wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! "What man was ever before the messenger of such heavy "tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my "native country, and shall report, that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?" His tears prevented further speech; and Mary too felt herself moved, more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease, "my good servant," said she; "cease to lament: Thou "hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn: For now "shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their "long expected period and completion. Know," continued she, "good servant, that all the world at best is "vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole "ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee, carry "this message from me, that I die a true woman to my "religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland "and to France. Heaven forgive them, that have long "desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the "hart panteth after the water brooks." "O God," added she, "thou that art the author of truth, and truth "itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: "Thou knowest, that I was ever desirous to preserve an "entire union between Scotland and England, and to "obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But "recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that, "notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing

"prejudicial

" prejudicial to the ſtate and kingdom of Scotland." After theſe words, reclining herſelf, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, ſhe kiſſed him. " And ſo," ſaid ſhe, " good Melvil, farewel: Once again, farewel, " good Melvil; and grant the aſſiſtance of thy prayers to " thy queen and miſtreſs [u]." 1587.

SHE next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her ſervants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the preſents which ſhe had made them, and be ſent ſafely into their own country. Having received a favourable anſwer, ſhe preferred another requeſt, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: In order, ſaid ſhe, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witneſs, how patiently their queen and miſtreſs can ſubmit to her execution, and how conſtantly ſhe perſeveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent oppoſed this deſire, and told her, that they would be apt, by their ſpeeches and cries, to diſturb both herſelf and the ſpectators: He was alſo apprehenſive, leſt they ſhould practiſe ſome ſuperſtition, not meet for him to ſuffer; ſuch as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: For that was the inſtance which he made uſe of. " My lord," ſaid the queen of Scots, " I will give my word (although it be " but dead) that they ſhall not incur any blame in any " of the actions which you have named. But alas! poor " ſouls! it would be a great conſolation to them to bid " their miſtreſs farewel. And I hope," added ſhe, " that your miſtreſs, being a maiden queen, would " vouchſafe, in regard of womanhood, that I ſhould have " ſome of my own people about me at my death. I " know, that her majeſty hath not given you any ſuch " ſtrict command, but that you might grant me a requeſt " of far greater courteſy, even though I were a woman

[u] MS. p. 4. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 634. Strype, vol. iii. p. 384.

" of

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

" of inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent perſiſted ſtill in his refuſal, her mind, which had fortified itſelf againſt the terrors of death, was affected by this circumſtance of indignity, for which ſhe was not prepared. " I am couſin to your queen," cried ſhe, " and deſcended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. " and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen " of Scotland." The commiſſioners, perceiving how invidious their obſtinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed, that ſhe might carry a few of her ſervants along with her. She made choice of four men, and two maid-ſervants, for that purpoſe.

SHE then paſſed into another hall, where was erected the ſcaffold, covered with black; and ſhe ſaw, with an undiſmayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with ſpectators; and no one was ſo ſteeled againſt all ſentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, when he reflected on her royal dignity, conſidered the ſurpriſing train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible conſtancy, recalled her amiable accompliſhments, or ſurveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, ſtill diſcovered themſelves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony ſhe was ſilent, but ſhewed, in her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern, as if the buſineſs had no wiſe regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborow ſtepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him, that he needed not concern himſelf about her, that ſhe was ſettled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that ſhe meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he ſtill thought it his duty to perſiſt in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her converſion. The terms, which he employed, were, under colour of pious inſtructions,

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities, to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her, that the queen of England had on this occasion shewn a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her, for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction, with which it was so nearly threatened: That she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, but by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: That the scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: That the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: And that it was now during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, *Come, ye blessed of my Father*, or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire* [x].

During this discourse Mary could not sometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that he had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent

[x] MS. p. 8, 9, 10, 11. Strype, vol. iii. p. 385.

her

CHAP. XLII.

1587. her of her former wickedneſs, and ſettle her faith upon this ground, that only in Chriſt Jeſus could ſhe hope to be ſaved. She anſwered, again and again, with great earneſtneſs: "Trouble not yourſelf any more about the "matter: For I was born in this religion; I have lived "in this religion; and in this religion I am reſolved to "die." Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitleſs to haraſs her any farther with theological diſputes; and they ordered the dean to deſiſt from his unſeaſonable exhortations, and to pray for her converſion. During the dean's prayer, ſhe employed herſelf in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finiſhed, ſhe pronounced aloud ſome petitions in Engliſh, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her ſon, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princeſs might long proſper, and be employed in his ſervice. The earl of Kent, obſerving, that, in her devotions, ſhe made frequent uſe of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popiſh trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Chriſt in her heart, not in her hand [y]. She replied with preſence of mind, that it was difficult to hold ſuch an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with ſome compunction [z].

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to diſrobe herſelf; and the executioner alſo lent his hand, to aſſiſt them. She ſmiled, and ſaid, That ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants, ſeeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burſt into tears and lamentations: She turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them [a]; and having given them her bleſſing,

y MS. p. 15. Jebb, vol. ii, p. 307, 491, 637. z Jebb, ibid.
a Jebb, p. 307, 492.

deſired

desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood and agitated with the convulsions of death: The dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Eliza-"beth's enemies:" The earl of Kent alone replied "Amen:" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess. CHAP. XLII. 1587.

THUS perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period, very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person and graces of her air combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression, which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to chearfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant and even vehement in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanor; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces, which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudencies or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty Mary's character.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

of our nature, of the violence of paſſion, and of the influence, which ſituations, and ſometimes momentary incidents, have on perſons, whoſe principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her huſband, ſeduced by the treacherous counſels of one in whom ſhe repoſed confidence, tranſported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay ſufficiently under the guidance of diſcretion; ſhe was betrayed into actions, which may, with ſome difficulty, be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct muſt, in ſome parts, wear the aſpect of ſevere ſatire and invective.

HER numerous misfortunes, the ſolitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the perſecutions, to which ſhe had been expoſed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and ſuch were the prevalent ſpirit and principles of that age, that it is the leſs wonder, if her zeal, her reſentment, and her intereſt uniting, induced her to give conſent to a deſign, which conſpirators, actuated only by the firſt of theſe motives, had formed againſt the life of Elizabeth.

The queen's affected ſorrow.

WHEN the queen was informed of Mary's execution, ſhe affected the utmoſt ſurprize and indignation. Her countenance changed; her ſpeech faltered and failed her; for a long time, her ſorrow was ſo deep that ſhe could not expreſs it, but ſtood fixed, like a ſtatue, in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burſt out in loud wailings and lamentations; ſhe put herſelf into deep mourning for this deplorable event; and ſhe was ſeen perpetually bathed in tears, and ſurrounded only by her maids and women. None of her miniſters or counſellors dared to approach her; or if any aſſumed ſuch temerity, ſhe chaſed them from her, with

the moſt violent expreſſions of rage and reſentment: They had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, contrary to her fixed purpoſe and intention [b], of which they were ſufficiently apprized and acquainted. 1587.

No ſooner was her ſorrow ſo much abated as to leave room for reflection, than ſhe wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and ſent it by Sir Robert Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon. She there told him, that ſhe wiſhed he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief of mind ſhe experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much leſs concurrence, had happened in England: That as her pen trembled, when ſhe attempted to write it, ſhe found herſelf obliged to commit the relation of it to the meſſenger, her kinſman; who would likewiſe inform his majeſty of every circumſtance, attending this diſmal and unlooked for misfortune: That ſhe appealed to the ſupreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was alſo ſo happy, amidſt her other afflictions, as to find, that many perſons in her court could bear witneſs to her veracity in this proteſtation: That ſhe abhorred hypocriſy and diſſimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a ſincere and open conduct; and could never ſurely be eſteemed ſo baſe and poor-ſpirited, as that, if ſhe had really given orders for this fatal execution, ſhe could, on any conſideration, be induced to deny them: That, though ſenſible of the juſtice of the ſentence pronounced againſt the unhappy priſoner, ſhe determined from clemency never to carry it into execution; and could not but reſent the temerity of thoſe, who on this occaſion had diſappointed her intention: And that as no one loved him more dearly than herſelf, or bore a more anxious concern

[b] Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. Append'x, p. 145. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 608.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

for his welfare; she hoped, that he would consider every one as his enemy, who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them [c].

In order the better to appease James, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-Chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger, which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors, whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour, which he could obtain from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time, to keep him from perishing in necessity [d]. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambassadors, he said, had been remonstrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure, she commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. She appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now "sick: Though I fear he will die for sorrow, when he "hears of it." She added, that, though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of the necessity of it. In the same conversation, she

[c] Camden, p. 536. Spotswood, p. 358. [d] Camden, p. 538.

blamed

blamed Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eaſed her of this trouble; and ſhe expreſſed her deſire, that Walſingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was ſo bent on this purpoſe, that, ſome time after, ſhe aſked Daviſon, Whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the ſervice expected of him? Daviſon ſhowed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman poſitively refuſed to act any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice. The queen fell into a paſſion; and accuſed Paulet, as well as Drury, of perjury; becauſe, having taken the oath of aſſociation, in which they had bound themſelves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refuſed to lend their hand on this occaſion. "But others," ſhe ſaid, "will be found leſs "ſcrupulous." Daviſon adds, that nothing but the conſent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to ſend off the warrant: He was well aware of his danger; and remembered, that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh [e].

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

ELIZABETH's diſſimulation was ſo groſs, that it could deceive no body, who was not previouſly reſolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more ſincere and cordial, he diſcovered the higheſt reſentment, and refuſed to admit Cary into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſadors from England; and ſeemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The States of Scotland, being aſſembled, took part in his anger; and profeſſed, that they were ready to ſpend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility inſtigated him to take arms: Lord Sinclair,

[e] Camden, p. 538. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3. 28. p. 17. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9. Biogr. Brit. p. 1625, 1627.

CHAP. XLII.

1587. when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armour, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the danger, which, from his mother's example, he might conclude, would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his person and his kingdom. The queen was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and, after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in peace and amity with her.

4th March. WALSINGHAM wrote to lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, a judicious letter to the same purpose. He said, that he was much surprized to hear of the violent resolutions taken in Scotland, and of the passion discovered by a prince of so much judgment and temper as James: That a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be exposed to censure, and could not be excused by any principles of equity or reason: That if these views were deemed less momentous among princes, policy and interest ought certainly to be attended to; and these motives did still more evidently oppose all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims and pretensions to the English throne: That the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of success, if he trusted merely to the force of his own state, and had no recourse to foreign powers for assistance: That the objections, attending the introduction of succours from a more potent monarch, appeared so evident from all the transactions of

hiſtory, that they could not eſcape a perſon of the King's extenſive knowledge; but there were, in the preſent caſe, ſeveral peculiar circumſtances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourſe to ſo dangerous an expedient: That the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly uſe the aſſiſtance of that kingdom againſt England; but would be diſpleaſed to ſee the union of theſe two kingdoms in the perſon of James; an union, which would ever after exclude him from practiſing that policy, formerly ſo uſeful to the French, and ſo pernicious to the Scottiſh, nation: That Henry beſides, infeſted with faction and domeſtic war, was not in a condition of ſupporting diſtant allies; much leſs would he expoſe himſelf to any hazard or expence, in order to aggrandize a near kinſman of the houſe of Guiſe, the moſt determined enemies of his repoſe and authority: That the extenſive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spaniſh monarch rendered him a ſtill more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he evidently aſpired to an univerſal monarchy in the weſt, and had in particular advanced ſome claims on England, as if he were deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, he was at the ſame time the common enemy of all princes, who wiſhed to maintain their independence; and the immediate rival and competitor of the king of Scots: That the queen, by her own naval power, and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all ſuccours which might be ſent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controverſy in this iſland with the ſuperior forces of her own kingdom, oppoſed to thoſe of Scotland: That if the king revived his mother's pretenſions to the crown of England, he muſt alſo embrace her religion, by which alone they could be juſtified; and muſt thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning thoſe principles, in which he had been ſtrictly educated, and to which he had hitherto

CHAP. XLII.

1587. religiouſly adhered: That as he would, by ſuch an apoſtacy, totally alienate all the proteſtants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the catholics, who would ſtill entertain reaſonable doubts of his ſincerity: That by advancing a preſent claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain proſpect of his ſucceſſion; and revived that national animoſity, which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguiſhed: That the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themſelves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and if James ſhowed ſuch violent reſentment againſt that act of juſtice, they would be obliged, for their own ſecurity, to prevent for ever ſo implacable and revengeful a prince from ruling over them: And that, however ſome perſons might repreſent his honour as engaged to ſeek vengeance for the preſent affront and injury, the true honour of a prince conſiſted in wiſdom and moderation and juſtice, not in following the dictates of blind paſſion, or in purſuing revenge at the expence of every motive and every intereſt [f]. Theſe conſiderations, joined to the peaceable, unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his reſentment; and he fell gradually into a good correſpondence with the court of England. It is probable, that the queen's chief object in her diſſimulation with regard to the execution of Mary, was, that ſhe might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual intereſts ſo much depended.

WHILE Elizabeth enſured tranquillity from the attempts of her neareſt neighbour, ſhe was not negligent of more diſtant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he ſeemed to diſſemble the daily inſults and injuries, which he received from the Engliſh, was ſecretly preparing a great navy to attack her; ſhe ſent Sir Francis Drake with

[f] Strype, vol. iii. p. 377. Spotſwood.

a fleet

a fleet to intercept his ſupplies, to pillage his coaſt, and to deſtroy his ſhipping. Drake carried out four capital ſhips of the queen's, and twenty-ſix, great and ſmall, with which the London merchants, in hopes of ſharing in the plunder, had ſupplied him. Having learned from two Dutch ſhips, which he met with in his paſſage, that a Spaniſh fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to ſet ſail for Liſbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada; he bent his courſe to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged ſix gallies, which made head againſt him, to take ſhelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred veſſels, laden with ammunition and naval ſtores; and he deſtroyed a great ſhip of the marquefs of Santa Croce. Thence, he ſet ſail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by aſſault the caſtle ſituated on that promontory, with three other ſtrong holds. He next inſulted Liſbon; and finding, that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were diſcontented at theſe military enterprizes, he ſet ſail for the Tercera Iſlands, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich Carrack, which was expected in theſe parts. He was ſo fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this ſhort expedition, in which the public bore ſo ſmall a ſhare, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprizes, the Engliſh ſeamen learned to deſpiſe the great unwieldy ſhips of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were deſtroyed, the intended expedition againſt England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leiſure to take more ſecure meaſures againſt that formidable invaſion [g].

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

Drake deſtroys the fleet at Cadiz.

THIS year Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman of Devonſhire, who had diſſipated a good eſtate by living at court,

g Camden, p. 540. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 156.

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

being resolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were cloathed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England [h].

The land enterprizes of the English were not, during this campaign, so advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive, lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, broke out into loud complaints against the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after, he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was no-wise calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions, which they had entertained against him. The prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in both enterprizes;

[h] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 57.

and

and as he aſcribed his bad ſucceſs, to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: They ſlighted his authority, oppoſed his meaſures, and neglected his counſels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour, and by violence, to recover that influence, which he had loſt by his imprudent and ill-concerted meaſures. He was even ſuſpected by the Dutch of a deſign to uſurp upon their liberties; and the jealouſy, entertained againſt him, began to extend towards the queen herſelf. That princeſs had made ſome advances towards a peace with Spain: A congreſs had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline: And though the two courts, eſpecially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuſe each of them its enemy by negociation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined, on no terms, to return under the Spaniſh yoke, became apprehenſive leſt their liberty ſhould be ſacrificed to the political intereſts of England [1]. But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the preſent conjuncture, was reſolved to give them entire ſatisfaction by recalling Leiceſter, and commanding him to reſign his government. Maurice, ſon of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the Engliſh forces. The meaſures of theſe two generals were much embarraſſed by the malignity of Leiceſter, who had left a faction behind him, and who ſtill attempted, by means of his emiſſaries, to diſturb all the operations of the States. So ſoon as Elizabeth received intelligence of theſe diſorders, ſhe took care to redreſs them; and ſhe obliged all the partizans of England to fall into

CHAP. XLII. 1587.

[1] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4. Strype, vol. iv. No 246.

unanimity

CHAP. XLII.

unanimity with prince Maurice[k]. But though her good sense so far prevailed over her partiality to Leicester, she never could be made fully sensible of his vices and incapacity: The submissions, which he made her, restored him to her wonted favour; and lord Buckhurst, who had accused him of misconduct in Holland, lost her confidence, for some time, and was even committed to custody.

1587.

Sir Christopher Hatton was another favourite, who at this time, received some marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profession of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley, deceased; but notwithstanding all the expectations and perhaps wishes of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high station: His good natural capacity supplied the place of experience and study; and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his absence from court, while he attended the business of chancery, would gradually estrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

1588.

These little intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the account which came from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities, which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition also and the hopes of extending his empire were much encouraged by the present prosperous situation of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East-

Philip projects the invasion of England.

[k] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 66.

Indian

Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point, on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support orthodoxy and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown, of being able to re-unite the whole christian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands instigated him to attack the English, who had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their near neighbourhood, were so well enabled to support the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels, while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To subdue England seemed a necessary preparative to the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithstanding all appearances, the former was in itself, as a more important, so a more easy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more exposed to invasions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty seemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art nor nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military discipline and experience; and the catholics, in which it still abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader, who should free them from those grievous persecutions, under which they laboured, and should revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another at land; and what comparison between the English and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Besides the acquisition of so great a kingdom, success against

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

againſt England enſured the immediate ſubjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all ſupport, muſt yield their ſtubborn necks to that yoke, which they had ſo long reſiſted. Happily this conqueſt, as it was of the utmoſt importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at preſent be oppoſed by the jealouſy of other powers, naturally ſo much intereſted to prevent the ſucceſs of that enterprize. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was ſo torn with inteſtine commotions, that ſhe had no leiſure to pay attention to her foreign intereſts. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again preſent itſelf, muſt be ſeized; and one bold effort made for acquiring that aſcendant in Europe, to which the preſent greatneſs and proſperity of the Spaniards ſeemed ſo fully to entitle them [l].

THESE hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithſtanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterprize; and though the prince, now created by the pope, duke of Parma, when conſulted, oppoſed the attempt, at leaſt repreſented the neceſſity of previouſly getting poſſeſſion of ſome ſea-port town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spaniſh navy [m], it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of his ambitious project. During ſome time he had been ſecretly making preparations; but as ſoon as the reſolution was fully taken, every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments, and all his miniſters, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the deſign. The marquefs of Santa Croce, a ſea-officer of great reputation and experience,

[l] Camden. Strype, vol. iii. p. 512.

[m] Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. 4.

was

CHAP. XLII.

1588. The Invincible Armada.

was deſtined to command the fleet; and by his counſels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building veſſels of uncommon ſize and force; naval ſtores were bought at a great expence; proviſions amaſſed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out ſuch a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no leſs formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment aſſembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli, conducted forces from Italy: The marqueſs of Borgaut, a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, levied troops in Germany: The Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: The Spaniſh infantry was ſupplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thouſand men was aſſembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readineſs to be tranſported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coaſts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk, and Newport, but eſpecially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat bottomed veſſels, for the tranſporting of his infantry and cavalry. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of ſharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Veſpaſian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Paſtrana, haſtened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thouſand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enliſted in the ſervice. No doubt was entertained, but ſuch vaſt preparations, conducted by officers of ſuch conſummate ſkill, muſt finally be ſucceſsful. And the Spaniards, oſtentatious of their power, and elevated with vain hopes,

CHAP. XLII.

hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*.

1588. NEWS of theſe extraordinary preparations ſoon reached the court of London; and notwithſtanding the ſecrecy of the Spaniſh council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was eaſily concluded, that they meant to make ſome effort againſt England. The queen had foreſeen the invaſion; and finding that ſhe muſt now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, ſhe made preparations for reſiſtance; nor was ſhe terrified with that power, by which, all Europe apprehended, ſhe muſt of neceſſity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed ſeemed very unequal to reſiſt ſo potent an enemy. All the ſailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thouſand men [n]. The ſize of the Engliſh ſhipping was, in general, ſo ſmall, that, except a few of the queen's ſhips of war, there were not four veſſels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons [o]. The royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail [p], many of which were of ſmall ſize; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largeſt frigates, and moſt of them deſerved rather the name of pinnaces than of ſhips. The only advantage of the Engliſh fleet conſiſted in the dexterity and courage of the ſeamen, who, being accuſtomed to ſail in tempeſtuous ſeas, and expoſe themſelves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spaniſh mariners, as their veſſels were inferior in ſize and force to thoſe of that nation [q]. All the commercial towns of England were required to furniſh ſhips for re-inforcing this ſmall navy; and they diſcovered, on the preſent occaſion, great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion againſt thoſe imminent perils, with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in

Preparations in England.

[n] Monſon, p. 256. [o] Ibid. p. 268. [p] Ibid. p. 157.
[q] Ibid. p. 321.

order

order to ſhew their zeal in the common cauſe, inſtead of fifteen veſſels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number [r]. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ſhips at their own charge [s]; and all the loans of money, which the queen demanded, were frankly granted by the perſons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The principal fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth. A ſmaller ſquadron, conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, was commanded by lord Seymour, ſecond ſon of protector Somerſet; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

THE land forces of England, compared to thoſe of Spain, poſſeſſed contrary qualities to its naval power: They were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in diſcipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thouſand men was diſpoſed in different bodies along the ſouth coaſt; and orders were given them, if they could not hinder the Spaniards from landing, to retire backwards, to waſte the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, was ſtationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and was commanded by lord Hunſdon. Theſe forces were reſerved for guarding the queen's perſon; and were appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy ſhould appear. The fate of England, if all the Spaniſh armies ſhould be able to land, ſeemed to depend

[r] Monſon, p. 267. [s] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 451.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

on the iſſue of a ſingle battle; and men of reflection entertained the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, when they conſidered the force of fifty thouſand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the moſt conſummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long diſuſed to war, could muſter up againſt it.

THE chief ſupport of the kingdom ſeemed to conſiſt in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undiſmayed by the preſent dangers, iſſued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a ſteady reſiſtance, and employed every reſource, which either her domeſtic ſituation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She ſent Sir Robert Sydney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to conſider the danger, which at preſent menaced his ſovereignty no leſs than her own, from the ambition of the Spaniſh tyrant [t]: The ambaſſador found James well diſpoſed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince even kept himſelf prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to ſeize a ſquadron of ſhips, which Philip had bought or hired in the Daniſh harbours [u]: The Hanſe Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced, by the ſame motives, to retard ſo long the equipment of ſome veſſels in their ports, that they became uſeleſs to the purpoſe of invading England. All the proteſtants throughout Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event, which was to decide

[t] She made him ſome promiſes which ſhe never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England, with ſuitable lands and revenue, to ſettle 5000 l. a-year on him, and pay him a guard, for the ſafety of his perſon. From a MS. of lord Royſton's. [u] Strype, vol. iii. p. 524.

for

for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reaſon of their diſtance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance, with which ſhe encountered that dreadful tempeſt, which was every moment approaching towards her. 1588.

THE queen alſo was ſenſible, that, next to the general popularity, which ſhe enjoyed, and the confidence, which her ſubjects repoſed in her prudent government, the firmeſt ſupport of her throne conſiſted in the general zeal of the people for the proteſtant religion, and the ſtrong prejudices which they had imbibed againſt popery. She took care, on the preſent occaſion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own ſect, and this abhorrence of the oppoſite. The Engliſh were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: All the barbarities, exerciſed by Mary againſt the proteſtants, were aſcribed to the counſels of that bigotted and imperious nation: The bloody maſſacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquiſition, were ſet before men's eyes: A liſt and deſcription was publiſhed, and pictures diſperſed, of the ſeveral inſtruments of torture, with which, it was pretended, the Spaniſh Armada was loaded: And every artifice, as well as reaſon, was employed, to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

BUT while the queen, in this critical emergence, rouzed the animoſity of the nation againſt popery, ſhe treated the partizans of that ſect with moderation, and gave not way to an undiſtinguiſhing fury againſt them. Though ſhe knew, that Sixtus Quintus, the preſent pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication againſt her,

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

had deposed her from the throne, had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had published a crusade against England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion; she would not believe, that all her catholic subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independency of their native country. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of that party: She would not even confine any considerable number of them: And the catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army [w]: Some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to protestants: Others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: And every rank of men, burying for the present all party distinctions, seemed to prepare themselves, with order as well as vigour, to resist the violence of these invaders.

THE more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a chearful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people [x]. By this spirited behaviour she revived the tenderness and admiration of the soldiery: An attachment to her person became a kind of enthusiasm among them: And they asked one another, Whether it were possible, that Eng-

[w] Stowe, p. 747.

[x] See note [BB] at the end of the volume.

lishmen

liſhmen could abandon this glorious cauſe, could diſplay leſs courage than appeared in the female ſex, or could ever, by any dangers, be induced to relinquiſh the defence of their heroic princeſs? CHAP. XLII. 1588.

THE Spaniſh Armada was ready in the beginning of May; but the moment it was preparing to ſail, the marqueſs of Santa Croce, the admiral, was ſeized with a violent fever, of which he ſoon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a ſtrange concurrence of accidents, at the very ſame time, ſuffered the ſame fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with ſea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, beſides the loſs of ſo great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the ſailing of the Armada, and gave the Engliſh more time for their preparations to oppoſe them. At laſt, the fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, ſet ſail from Liſbon; but next day met with a violent tempeſt, which 29th May. ſcattered the ſhips, ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt, and forced the reſt to take ſhelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded, that the deſign of an invaſion was diſappointed for this ſummer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for ſaving money, ſhe made Walſingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up ſome of the larger ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen: But lord Effingham, who was not ſo ſanguine in his hopes, uſed the freedom to diſobey theſe orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ſhips in ſervice; though it ſhould be at his own expence [y]. He took advantage of a north wind, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the

[y] Camden, p. 545.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

south, he became apprehensive, lest they might have set sail, and by passing him at sea, invade England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

MEANWHILE, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprize. The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months; and was attended with twenty lesser ships, called caravals, and ten salves with six oars apiece [a].

THE plan formed by the king of Spain was, that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chased away all English or Flemish vessels, which might obstruct the passage, (for it was never supposed they could make opposition) should join themselves with the duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that, in passing along the channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and keeping in view the main enterprize, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay, to the acquisition of a kingdom [b]. After the Armada

[a] Strype, vol. iii. Append. p. 221. [b] Monson, p. 157.

was

was under ſail, they took a fiſherman, who informed them, that the Engliſh admiral had been lately at ſea, had heard of the tempeſt which ſcattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invaſion this ſeaſon, had laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged moſt of the ſeamen. From this falſe intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and deſtroying the Engliſh ſhips in harbour; and he was tempted, by the proſpect of ſo deciſive an advantage, to break his orders, and make ſail directly for Plymouth: A reſolution which proved the ſafety of England. The Lizard was the firſt land made by the Armada, about ſun-ſet; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to ſea, with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the Engliſh navy. They were deſcried by Fleming a Scottiſh pirate, who was roving in theſe ſeas, and who immediately ſet ſail, to inform the Engliſh admiral of their approach [c]: Another fortunate event, which contributed extremely to the ſafety of the fleet. Effingham had juſt time to get out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretching the diſtance of ſeven miles from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

19th July. The Armada arrives in th. Channel.

THE writers of that age raiſe their ſtile by a pompous deſcription of this ſpectacle; the moſt magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infuſing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty maſts, the ſwelling ſails, and the towering prows of the Spaniſh galleons, ſeem impoſſible to be juſtly painted, otherwiſe than by aſſuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent hiſtorian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has aſſerted, that the Armada, though the ſhips bore every

[c] Monſon, p. 158.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

ſail, yet advanced with a ſlow motion; as if the ocean groaned with ſupporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, ſo enormous a weight [d]. The truth, however, is, that the largeſt of the Spaniſh veſſels would ſcarcely paſs for third rates in the preſent navy of England; yet were they ſo ill framed, or ſo ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not ſail upon a wind, nor tack on occaſion, nor be managed in ſtormy weather by the ſeamen. Neither the mechanics of ſhip-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained ſo great perfection as could ſerve for the ſecurity and government of ſuch bulky veſſels; and the Engliſh, who had already had experience how unſerviceable they commonly were, beheld without diſmay their tremendous appearance.

EFFINGHAM gave orders, not to come to cloſe fight with the Spaniards; where the ſize of the ſhips, he ſuſpected, and the numbers of the ſoldiers, would be a diſadvantage to the Engliſh; but to cannonade them at a diſtance, and to wait the opportunity, which winds, currents, or various accidents muſt afford him, of intercepting ſome ſcattered veſſels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event anſwered expectation. A great ſhip of Biſcay, on board of which was a conſiderable part of the Spaniſh money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguiſhing the flames, ſhe fell behind the reſt of the Armada: The great galleon of Andaluzia was detained by the ſpringing of her maſt: And both theſe veſſels were taken, after ſome reſiſtance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the Engliſh hung upon its rear, and ſtill infeſted it with ſkirmiſhes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the Engliſh; and the latter ſoon found, that

[d] Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. 4.

CHAP. XLII. 1588.

even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after the conjunction of these ships, amounted to an hundred and forty sail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place; in expectation, that the duke of Parma, who had got intelligence of their approach, would put to sea, and join his forces to them. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with all combustible materials, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied, that they were fireships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel, which had lately done so much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning, while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

By this time, it was become apparent, that the intention, for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards, was entirely frustrated. The vessels, provided by the duke of Parma, were made for transporting soldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged

CHAP. XLII.

1588.

to leave the harbour, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English, not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many rencounters, that, while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that, by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the winds were contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and making the tour of the island reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the offices in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The duke of Medina had once taken that resolution; but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprize would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved equally fatal to the Spaniards.

Defeated.

A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: The ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: The mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen, as well as soldiers, who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

Such

CHAP. XLII.

SUCH was the miſerable and diſhonourable concluſion of an enterprize, which had been preparing for three years, which had exhauſted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a ſlave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no ſooner heard of the mortifying event, which blaſted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious diſpenſation of Providence, expreſſed his joy, that the calamity was not greater. The Spaniſh prieſts, who had ſo often bleſt this holy cruſade, and foretold its infallible ſucceſs, were ſomewhat at a loſs to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable uſurper: But they at laſt diſcovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them [e]. 1588.

SOON after the defeat and diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, the queen ſummoned a new parliament; and received from them a ſupply of two ſubſidies and four fifteenths payable in four years. This is the firſt inſtance that ſubſidies were doubled in one ſupply; and ſo unuſual a conceſſion was probably obtained from the joy of the preſent ſucceſs, and from the general ſenſe of the queen's neceſſities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans, which had lately been impoſed upon them [f]. 1589. 4th Feb.

ELIZABETH foreſaw, that this houſe of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterprizes, ſhe renewed, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, her uſual injunction, that the parliament ſhould not, on any account, preſume to A parliament.

[e] See note [CC] at the end of the volume. [f] See note [DD] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. XLII.

1589. treat of matters eccleſiaſtical. Notwithſtanding this ſtrict inhibition, the zeal of one Damport moved him to preſent a bill to the commons for remedying the grievances, and reſtraining the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which were certainly great: But when Mr. ſecretary Woley reminded the houſe of her majeſty's commands, no one durſt ſecond the motion; the bill was not ſo much as read; and the ſpeaker returned it to Damport, without taking the leaſt notice of it [g]. Some members of the houſe, notwithſtanding the general ſubmiſſion, were even committed to cuſtody on account of this attempt [h].

THE imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared ſtill more clearly in another parliamentary tranſaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleaſure take proviſions for the houſehold from all the neighbouring counties, and could make uſe of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of theſe commodities and ſervices was fixed and ſtated. The payment of the money was often diſtant and uncertain; and the rates were always much inferior to the uſual market price; ſo that purveyance, beſides the ſlavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and being arbitrary and caſual, was liable to great abuſes. We may fairly preſume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, ſupported by her unlimited power, would be ſure to render this prerogative very oppreſſive to the people; and the commons had, laſt ſeſſion, found it neceſſary to paſs a bill for regulating theſe exactions: But the bill was loſt in the houſe of peers [i]. The continuance of the abuſes begat a new attempt for redreſs; and the ſame bill was now revived, and ſent up again to the houſe of peers, together with a

g D'Ewes, p. 438. h Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 280. Neal, vol. i. p. 500. i D'Ewes, p 434.

bill

bill for ſome new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after, the commons received a meſſage from the upper houſe, deſiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the peers informed them, that the queen, by a meſſage, delivered by lord Burleigh, had expreſſed her diſpleaſure, that the commons ſhould preſume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuſes, ſhe ſaid, either in impoſing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majeſty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in theſe matters [k]. The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed a new committee to attend the queen, and endeavour to ſatisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: She expreſſed her great *ineſtimable loving care* towards her loving ſubjects; which, ſhe ſaid, was greater than of her own ſelf, or even than any of them could have of themſelves. She told them, that ſhe had already given orders for an enquiry into the abuſes attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spaniſh invaſion had retarded the progreſs of that deſign; that ſhe had as much ſkill, will, and power to rule her own houſehold as any ſubjects whatſoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the aſſiſtance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, conſequently more near to her than even her houſehold, and therefore the leſs proper for them to intermeddle with; and that ſhe would of herſelf, with advice of her council and the judges, redreſs every grievance in theſe matters, but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending theſe regulations [l]. The iſſue of this matter was the ſame that attended all conteſts between Elizabeth and her parliaments [m]. She

[k] D'Ewes, p. 440. [l] Ibid. p. 444.

[m] *Si rixa eſt, ubi tu pulſas, ego vapulo tantum.* Juven.

ſeems

CHAP. XLII. 1589.

seems even to have been more imperious, in this particular, than her predeceſſors; at leaſt, her more remote ones: For they often permitted the abuſes of purveyance [n] to be redreſſed by law [o]. Edward III. a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten ſeveral ſtatutes to be enacted for that purpoſe.

In ſo great awe did the commons ſtand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durſt uſe no freedom of ſpeech, which, they thought, would give the leaſt offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby ſhewed in the houſe his extreme grief, that, by ſome great perſonage, not a member of the houſe, he had been ſharply rebuked for ſpeeches delivered in parliament: He craved the favour of the houſe, and deſired that ſome of the members might inform that great perſonage of his true meaning and intention in theſe ſpeeches [p]. The commons, to obviate theſe inconveniencies, paſſed a vote, that no one ſhould reveal the ſecrets of the houſe [q].

The diſcomfiture of the Armada had begot in the nation a kind of enthuſiaſtic paſſion for enterprizes againſt Spain; and nothing ſeemed now impoſſible to be atchieved by the valour and fortune of the Engliſh. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, truſting to the averſion of his countrymen againſt the Caſtilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and flying firſt to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretenſions. A deſign was formed by the people, not the court, of England to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprize: Near twenty

Expedition againſt Portugal.

[n] See note [EE] at the end of the volume. [o] See the ſtatutes under this head of purveyance. [p] D'Ewes, p. 432, 433.

[q] An act was paſſed this ſeſſion, enforcing the former ſtatute, which impoſed twenty pounds a month on every one abſent from public worſhip: But the penalty was reſtricted to two-thirds of the income of the recuſant. 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

thouſand

thouſand volunteers [r] enliſted themſelves in the ſervice: And ſhips were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than ſixty thouſand pounds to the expence; and ſhe only allowed ſix of her ſhips of war to attend the expedition [s]. There was more ſpirit and bravery, than foreſight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterprize. The ſmall ſtock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either proviſions or ammunition ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking: They even wanted veſſels to ſtow the numerous volunteers, who crowded to them; and they were obliged to ſeize by force ſome ſhips of the Hanſe Towns, which they met with at ſea: An expedient, which ſet them ſomewhat more at eaſe in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their proviſions [t]. Had they ſailed directly to Portugal, it is believed, that the good will of the people, joined to the defenceleſs ſtate of the country, might have enſured them of ſucceſs: But hearing, that great preparations were making at the Groine, for the invaſion of England, they were induced to go thither, and deſtroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour; burned ſome ſhips of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thouſand men, which was aſſembled to oppoſe them; they aſſaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and proviſions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of promiſing hopes, who, fired with the thirſt of

1589.

r Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 61. Monſon, p. 267, ſays, that there were only fourteen thouſand ſoldiers and four thouſand ſeamen in the whole on this expedition: But the account contained in Dr. Birch, is given by one of the moſt conſiderable of the adventurers.

s Monſon, p. 267. t Ibid. p. 159.

military

CHAP. XLII. 1589.

military honour, had secretly, unknown to the queen, stolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common consent to make sail for Portugal, the main object of their enterprize.

The English landed at Paniche, a sea-port town, twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river, and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had got leisure to prepare against the invasion of the English. Forces were thrown into Lisbon: The Portuguese were disarmed: All suspected persons were taken into custody: And thus, though the inhabitants bore great affection to Don Antonio, none of them durst declare in favour of the invaders. The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they desired to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from all plunder. Meanwhile, they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses, which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favour; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had seized the army: So that it was found requisite to make all possible haste to reimbark. They were not pursued by the enemy; and finding, at the mouth of the river, sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword [u];

[u] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61.

and

and England reaped much more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprize. It is computed, that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board this fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters [x]. CHAP. XLII. 1589.

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ship of war, which the queen had lent him. That nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some provisions; a generosity, which saved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several prizes from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwal. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceras: A great mortality seized the rest: And it was with difficulty that the few hands, which remained, were able to steer the ships home into harbour [y].

Though the signal advantages, gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign, she could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high-spirited princess, who knew so well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealousy towards her heir, with which, during the life-time of Mary, she had been so much agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded to the favour of the catholics, which Affairs of Scotland.

[x] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61. [y] Monson, p. 161.

could

CHAP. XLII.

1589. could alone render these claims dangerous [z]: And as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrouled authority over her subjects, it was not likely, that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet all these circumstances could not remove her timorous suspicions: And so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident, which might anywise raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favourites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged them to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years, she succeeded in this malignant policy [a]. He had fixed on the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negociation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself, by the prospect of issue, from those traiterous attempts, too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all

[z] Winwood, vol. i. p. 51. [a] Melvil, p. 166, 177.

the

the politics of Elizabeth: The articles of marriage were settled: The ceremony was performed by proxy: And the princeſs embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a ſtorm into a port of Norway. This tempeſt, and ſome others, which happened near the ſame time, were univerſally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottiſh and Daniſh witches; and the dying confeſſion of the criminals was ſuppoſed to put the accuſation beyond all controverſy [b]. James, however, though a great believer in ſorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage, in order to conduct his bride home: He arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having paſſed the winter in that city, he brought her next ſpring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made oppoſition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which, they alledged, was either a Jewiſh or a popiſh rite; and therefore utterly antichriſtian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony, as they were averſe to it; and after much controverſy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at laſt prevailed over their oppoſition [c].

CHAP. XLII. 1589.

[b] Melvil, p. 180. [c] Spotſwood, p. 381.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*French affairs——Murder of the duke of Guiſe——Murder of Henry III.——Progreſs of Henry IV.——Naval enterprizes againſt Spain——A Parliament——Henry IV. embraces the catholic religion——Scotch affairs——Naval enterprizes——A parliament——Peace of Vervins——The earl of Eſſex.*

CHAP. XLIII. 1590.

AFTER a ſtate of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a ſituation, where, though her affairs ſtill required attention, and found employment for her active ſpirit, ſhe was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with ſome degree of confidence and ſecurity. Her ſucceſsful and prudent adminiſtration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own ſubjects; and after the death of the queen of Scots, even the catholics, however diſcontented, pretended not to diſpute her title, or adhere to any other perſon as her rival and competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and eccleſiaſtics, poſſeſſed at home very little authority; and was ſolicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the Engliſh nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would ſecure him that rich ſucceſſion, to which his birth entitled him. The Hollanders, though overmatched in their conteſt with Spain, ſtill made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and ſuch was their unconquerable antipathy to their old maſters, and ſuch the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the ſubduing

of that ſmall territory, if at all poſſible, muſt be the work of years, and the reſult of many and great ſucceſſes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort againſt England, had been tranſported by reſentment and ambition beyond his uſual cautious maxims, was now diſabled, and ſtill more diſcouraged, from adventuring again on ſuch hazardous enterprizes. The ſituation alſo of affairs in France, began chiefly to employ his attention; but notwithſtanding all his artifice, and force, and expence, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England. 1590.

French affairs.

THE violence of the league having conſtrained Henry to declare war againſt the Hugonots, theſe religioniſts ſeemed expoſed to the utmoſt danger; and Elizabeth, ſenſible of the intimate connection between her own intereſts and thoſe of that party, had ſupported the king of Navarre by her negociations in Germany, and by large ſums of money, which ſhe remitted for levying forces in that country. That great prince, not diſcouraged by the ſuperiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained, at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the ſame time diſcomfited by the army of the league, under the duke of Guiſe, his ſituation, notwithſtanding his victory, ſeemed ſtill as deſperate as ever. The chief advantage, which he reaped by this diverſity of ſucceſs, aroſe from the diſſenſions, which, by that means, took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt their king, whoſe intentions had become ſuſpicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his ſafety. That prince, diſſembling his reſentment, entered into a negociation with the league; and having conferred many high offices on Guiſe and his

CHAP. XLIII.

1590.

partizans, ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates at Blois, on pretence of finding means and expedients to ſupport the intended war againſt the Hugonots. The various ſcenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had juſtly begot a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guiſe, truſting more to the timidity than honour of the king, raſhly put himſelf into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the aſcendant of his own genius, to make him ſubmit to all his exorbitant pretenſions. Henry, though of an eaſy diſpoſition, not ſteddy to his reſolutions, or even to his promiſes, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and finding all his ſubtilties eluded by the vigour of Guiſe, and even his throne expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, he embraced more violent counſels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guiſe, to be aſſaſſinated in his palace.

Murder of the duke of Guiſe.

THIS cruel execution, which the neceſſity of it alone could excuſe, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and ſeemed at firſt to plunge him into greater dangers than thoſe which he ſought to avoid, by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partizans of the league were enflamed with the utmoſt rage againſt him: The populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: The eccleſiaſtics and the preachers filled all places with execrations againſt his name: And the moſt powerful cities and moſt opulent provinces appeared to combine in a reſolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding ſlender reſources among his catholic ſubjects, was conſtrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: He enliſted large bodies of Swiſs infantry and German cavalry: And being ſtill ſupported by his chief nobility, he aſſembled, by all theſe means, an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris,

Paris, ready to crûſh the league, and ſubdue all his enemies. The deſperate reſolution of one man diverted the courſe of theſe great events. Jaques Clement, a Dominican fryar, inflamed by that bloody ſpirit of bigotry, which diſtinguiſhes this century and a great part of the following beyond all ages of the world, embraced the reſolution of ſacrificing his own life, in order to ſave the church from the perſecutions of an heretical tyrant; and being admitted, under ſome pretext, to the king's preſence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death, by the courtiers, who haſtily revenged the murder of their ſovereign. This memorable incident happened on the firſt of Auguſt, 1589.

1590.

Murder of Henry the third.

The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, aſſumed the government, under the title of Henry IV. but ſucceeded to much greater difficulties than thoſe which ſurrounded his predeceſſor. The prejudices, entertained againſt his religion, made a great part of the nobility immediately deſert him; and it was only by his promiſe of hearkening to conferences and inſtruction, that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guiſe, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of diſmembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, Henry addreſſed himſelf to Elizabeth, and found her well diſpoſed to contribute to his aſſiſtance, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the catholic league, and of the king of Spain, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the deſertion of his Swiſs and German auxiliaries, ſhe made him a preſent of twenty-two thouſand pounds; a greater ſum than, as he declared, he had ever ſeen before: And ſhe ſent him a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined

CHAP. XLIII.

1590. the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the suburbs, sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed this body of English troops in many other enterprizes; and found still reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baskerville, and Sir John Boroughs acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valour.

Progress of Henry the fourth.

THE army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvrée, and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine: When the duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retired to the Low Countries; and by his consummate skill in the art of war, performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought, of giving him battle, or so much as once putting his army in disorder. The only loss, which he sustained, was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and recovered some places, which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States [d].

1591. THE situation of Henry's affairs, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succours; and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him, by some

[d] See note [FF] at the end of the volume.

advantages

advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Britanny, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himſelf hard preſſed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to ſecure himſelf, to introduce ſome Spaniſh troops into the ſea-port towns of that province. Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger; and foreſaw, that the Spaniards, beſides infeſting the Engliſh commerce by privateers, might employ theſe harbours as the ſeat of their naval preparations, and might more eaſily, from that near neighbourhood, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invaſion of England. She concluded, therefore, a new treaty with Henry, in which ſhe engaged to ſend over three thouſand men, to be employed in the reduction of Britanny, and ſhe ſtipulated that her charges ſhould, in a twelvemonth, or as ſoon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her [e]. Theſe forces were commanded by Sir John Norris; and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a ſmall body which garriſoned Dieppe: And a ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coaſt of France, and intercepted all the veſſels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers. 1591.

THE operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it neceſſary to lay aſide the projected enterprize againſt Britanny, perſuaded the Engliſh commanders to join his army, and to take a ſhare in the hoſtilities, which he carried into Picardy [f]. Notwithſtanding the diſguſt, which Elizabeth received from this diſappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and perſuaded her to ſend over a new body of four thouſand men, to aſſiſt him in that enter-

[e] Camden, p. 561. [f] Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 116.

CHAP. XLIII. 1591.

prize. The earl of Eſſex was appointed general of theſe forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accompliſhments, and ſtill more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and ſeemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leiceſter, now deceaſed, had ſo long enjoyed. Eſſex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneaſy to lie ſome time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders, which he received from his miſtreſs, been ſo poſitive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was alſo propoſed to Elizabeth by the French ambaſſador; but ſhe rejected it with great diſpleaſure; and ſhe threatened immediately to recall her troops, if Henry ſhould perſevere any longer in his preſent practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own intereſts [g]. Urged by theſe motives, the French king, at laſt, led his army into Normandy, and laid ſiege to Roüen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themſelves to take the field againſt him, had again recourſe to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprize with his uſual ability and ſucceſs; and, for the preſent, fruſtrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princeſs, who kept ſtill in view the intereſts of her own kingdom in all her foreign tranſactions, was impatient, under theſe diſappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained, that the Engliſh forces were thruſt foremoſt in every hazardous enterprize [h]. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in ſo celebrated a theatre of war, were the cauſes why they ſo often enjoyed this perilous honour.

[g] Birch's Negociations, p. 5. Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 123, 140.
[h] Camden, p. 562.

NOTWITHSTANDING

CHAP. XLIII. 1591.

NOTWITHSTANDING the indifferent ſucceſs of former enterprizes, the queen was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to ſupport Henry againſt the league and the Spaniards; and ſhe formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip, but by common conſent; *ſhe* promiſed to ſend him a new ſupply of four thouſand men; and *he* ſtipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ theſe forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition againſt Britanny, and to conſign into her hands a ſea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the Engliſh [i]. Henry knew the impoſſibility of executing ſome of theſe articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly inſiſted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her ſuccours, and truſted that he might eaſily, on ſome pretence, be able to excuſe his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the leaſt ſucceſsful of all thoſe which he had yet carried on againſt the league.

Naval enterprizes againſt Spain.

DURING theſe military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power againſt Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his Weſt-Indian treaſures, the ſource of that greatneſs, which rendered him ſo formidable to all his neighbours. She ſent a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, for this ſervice; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpoſe, fitted out a great force, of fifty-five ſail, and diſpatched them to eſcort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the Engliſh ſquadron; and by the courageous obſtinacy of Sir Richard Greenville, the vice-admiral, who refuſed to make his eſcape by flight, they took one veſſel, the firſt Engliſh ſhip of war which had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards [k]. The reſt of the ſquadron returned ſafely into England; fruſtrated of their expectations, but

[i] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 151, 168, 171, 173.

[k] See note [GG] at the end of the volume.

pleaſing

CHAP. XLIII.

pleasing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in hurting the enemy. The

1591. Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havanna, from the fear of the English, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck, ere they reached the Spanish harbours [l]. The earl of Cumberland made a like unsuccessful enterprize against the Spanish trade. He carried out one ship of the queen's, and seven others, equipped at his own expence; but the prizes, which he made, did not compensate the charges [m].

THE spirit of these expensive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his interest to decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he persuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers, in an attempt

1592. on the West-Indies. The fleet was detained so long in the Channel by contrary winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Frobisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich Carrack near the Island of Flores, and destroyed another [n]. About the same time, Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which, besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity useless to the English, but which had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

THIS war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expence to England; and Eli-

[l] Monson, p. 163. Camden, p. 569. [m] Ibid. p. 169. [n] Ibid. p. 165.

zabeth's

zabeth's miniſters computed, that, ſince the commencement of it, ſhe had ſpent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thouſand pounds [o]; a charge which, notwithſtanding her extreme frugality, was too burthenſome for her narrow revenues to ſupport. She ſummoned, therefore, a parliament, in order to obtain ſupply: But ſhe either thought her authority ſo eſtabliſhed, that ſhe needed to make them no conceſſions in return, or ſhe rated her power and prerogative above money: For there never was any parliament, whom ſhe treated in a more haughty manner, whom ſhe made more ſenſible of their own weakneſs, or whoſe privileges ſhe more openly violated. When the ſpeaker, Sir Edward Coke, made the three uſual requeſts, of freedom from arreſts, of acceſs to her perſon, and of liberty of ſpeech; ſhe replied to him, by the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty of ſpeech was granted to the commons, but they muſt know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to ſpeak what he liſteth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Aye or No: That ſhe enjoined the ſpeaker, if he perceived any idle heads ſo negligent of their own ſafety, as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he ſhould refuſe the bills exhibited for that purpoſe, till they were examined by ſuch as were fitter to conſider of theſe things, and could better judge of them: That ſhe would not impeach the freedom of their perſons; but they muſt beware, leſt, under colour of this privilege, they imagined, that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: And that ſhe would not refuſe them acceſs to her perſon; provided it was upon urgent and weighty cauſes, and at times con-

CHAP. XLIII.

1592.

1593. Feb. 19. A parliament,

[o] Strype, vol. iii.

venient,

CHAP. XLIII.

venient, and when she might have leisure from other important affairs of the realm [p].

1593. NOTWITHSTANDING the menacing and contemptuous air of this speech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not discouraged by his former ill success, ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he desired the upper house to join with the lower in a supplication to her majesty, for entailing the succession of the crown; and he declared, that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpose. This method of proceeding was sufficiently respectful and cautious; but the subject was always extremely disagreeable to the queen, and what she had expressly prohibited any one from meddling with: She sent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet prison, together with Stevens, and Welsh, two members, to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention [q]. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the house, to petition the queen, for the release of these members; but it was answered by all the privy counsellors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen, whom they meant to serve: She would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion, than from their suggestion [r]. The house willingly acquiesced in this reasoning.

So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the session, might well repress all farther attempts for freedom: But the religious zeal of the puritans, was not so easily restrained; and it inspired a courage, which no human

[p] D'Ewes, p. 460, 469. Townsend, p. 37. [q] D'Ewes, p. 470. Townsend, p. 54. [r] D'Ewes, p. 497.

motive

motive was able to surmount. Morrice, chancellor of the dutchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but above all, in the high commission; where subscriptions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own condemnation; and where every one, who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners, was imprisoned, without relief or remedy [s]. This motion was seconded by some members; but the ministers and privy counsellors opposed it; and foretold the consequences which ensued. The queen sent for the speaker; and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him, that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to dissolve them, in her power to give assent or dissent to any determination, which they should form: That her purpose in summoning this parliament was twofold, to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation, against the exorbitant power of Spain: That these two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: She had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion; and she wondered how any one could be so assuming, as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition: That she was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to re-iterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require, that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited in the house: And that in particular she charged the speaker upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members.

1593.

[s] D'Ewes, p. 474. Townsend, p. 60.

CHAP. XLIII.

1593.

bers [t]. This command from the queen was submitted to, without farther queſtion. Morrice was ſeized in the houſe itſelf by a ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profeſſion as a common lawyer, and kept ſome years priſoner in Tilbury caſtle [u].

THE queen having thus expreſsly pointed out, both what the houſe ſhould and ſhould not do, the commons were as obſequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They paſſed a law againſt recuſants; ſuch a law as was ſuited to the ſevere character of Elizabeth and to the perſecuting ſpirit of that age. It was intitled, *An act to retain her majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience*; and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate ſuch inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons: For theſe two ſpecies of criminals were always, at that time, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of ſociety. It was enacted, that any perſon, above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed, during the ſpace of a month, to attend public worſhip ſhould be committed to priſon; that, if, after being condemned for this offence, he perſiſt three months in his refuſal, he muſt abjure the realm; and that, if he either refuſe this condition, or return after baniſhment, he ſhould ſuffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy [x]. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and had it not been impoſed by the queen's authority, was certainly, in that reſpect, much contrary to the private ſentiments and inclinations of the majority in the houſe of commons. Very little oppoſition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it [y].

THE

[t] D'Ewes, p. 474, 478. Townſend, p. 68. [u] Heylin's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 320. [x] 35 Eliz. c. 1.

[y] After enacting this ſtatute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themſelves, often took care that recuſants ſhould be tried by the civil judges

CHAP. XLIII.

1593.

THE expences of the war with Spain, having reduced the queen to great neceſſities, the grant of ſubſidies ſeems to have been the moſt important buſineſs of this parliament; and it was a ſingular proof of the high ſpirit of Elizabeth, that, while conſcious of a preſent dependance on the commons, ſhe opened the ſeſſion with the moſt haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakneſs under ſuch a lofty appearance of ſuperiority. The commons readily voted two ſubſidies and four fifteenths; but this ſum not appearing ſufficient to the court, an unuſual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their conceſſions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their aſſent to the ſupply voted, thinking it too ſmall for the queen's occaſions: They therefore propoſed a grant of three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths, and deſired a farther conference, in order to perſuade the commons to agree to this meaſure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of ſubſidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at firſt abſolutely rejected the propoſal: But being afraid, on reflection, that they had, by this refuſal, given offence to their ſuperiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional ſubſidy [z].

THE queen, notwithſtanding this unuſual conceſſion of the commons, ended the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, containing ſome reprimands to them, and full of the ſame high pretenſions, which ſhe had aſſumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper, that certain members ſpent more time than was neceſſary, by indulging themſelves in harangues and reaſonings: And ſhe expreſſed her diſpleaſure on account of their not

judges at the aſſizes, rather than by the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners. Strype's Ann. vol. iv. p. 264.

[z] D'Ewes, p. 483, 487, 488. Townſend, p. 66.

paying

CHAP. XLIII. 1593.

paying due reverence to privy counſellors, "who," ſhe told them, "were not to be accounted as common "knights and burgeſſes of the houſe, who are counſellors "but during the parliament: Whereas, the others are "ſtanding counſellors, and for their wiſdom and great "ſervice are called to the council of the ſtate[a]." The queen alſo, in her own perſon, made the parliament a ſpirited harangue; in which ſhe ſpoke of the juſtice and moderation of her government, expreſſed the ſmall ambition ſhe had ever entertained of making conqueſts, diſplayed the juſt grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and diſcovered how little ſhe apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he ſhould make a greater effort than that of his Invincible Armada. "But "I am informed," added ſhe, "that when he attempted "this laſt invaſion, ſome upon the ſea-coaſt forſook their "towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all "naked and expoſed to his entrance: But I ſwear unto "you, by God, if I knew thoſe perſons, or may know "of any that ſhall do ſo hereafter, I will make them feel "what it is to be ſo fearful in ſo urgent a cauſe[b]." By this menace, ſhe probably gave the people to underſtand, that ſhe would execute martial law upon ſuch cowards: For there was no ſtatute, by which a man could be puniſhed for changing his place of abode.

THE king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained conſiderable advantages over them, and though he was aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of Engliſh under Norris, who carried hoſtilities into the heart of Britanny; was become ſenſible, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himſelf maſter of his kingdom. The nearer he ſeemed

[a] D'Ewes, p. 466. Townſend, p. 47. Townſend, p. 48.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 466.

by his military ſucceſſes to approach to a full poſſeſſion of the throne, the more diſcontent and jealouſy aroſe among thoſe Romaniſts who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect ſome catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry ſhould any longer refuſe to ſatisfy them by declaring his converſion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his ſect; and as he deemed theſe theological diſputes entirely ſubordinate to the public good, he had tacitly determined, from the beginning, to come, ſome time or other, to the reſolution required of him. He had found, on the death of his predeceſſor, that the hugonots, who formed the braveſt and moſt faithful part of his army, were ſuch determined zealots, that, if he had, at that time, abjured their faith, they would inſtantly have abandoned him to the pretenſions and uſurpations of the catholics. The more bigotted catholics, he knew, particularly thoſe of the league, had entertained ſuch an unſurmountable prejudice againſt his perſon, and diffidence of his ſincerity, that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he muſt either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on ſuch terms as would leave him little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty. In this delicate ſituation he had reſolved to temporize; to retain the hugonots by continuing in the profeſſion of their religion; to gain the moderate catholics by giving them hopes of his converſion; to attach both to his perſon by conduct and ſucceſs; and he hoped, either that the animoſity, ariſing from war againſt the league, would make them drop gradually the queſtion of religion, or that he might, in time, after ſome victories over his enemies and ſome conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration, which muſt have appeared, at firſt, both mean and ſuſpicious to both parties.

CHAP. XLIII. 1593.

CHAP. XLIII.

1593. Henry IV. embraces the catholic religion.

When the people are attached to any theological tenets, merely from a general perſuaſion or prepoſſeſſion, they are eaſily induced, by any motive or authority, to change their faith in theſe myſterious ſubjects; as appears from the example of the Engliſh, who, during ſome reigns, uſually embraced, without ſcruple, the ſtill varying religion of their ſovereigns. But the French nation, where principles had ſo long been diſplayed as the badges of faction, and where each party had fortified its belief by an animoſity againſt the other, were not found ſo pliable or inconſtant; and Henry, was at laſt convinced, that the catholics of his party would entirely abandon him, if he gave them not immediate ſatisfaction in this particular. The hugonots alſo, taught by experience, clearly ſaw, that his deſertion of them was become abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſettlement; and ſo general was this perſuaſion among them, that, as the duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that party purpoſely allowed themſelves to be worſted in the diſputes and conferences; that the king might more readily be convinced of the weakneſs of their cauſe, and might more cordially and ſincerely, at leaſt more decently, embrace the religion, which it was ſo much his intereſt to believe. If this ſelf-denial, in ſo tender a point, ſhould appear incredible and ſupernatural in theologians, it will, at leaſt, be thought very natural, that a prince, ſo little inſtructed in theſe points as Henry, and deſirous to preſerve his ſincerity, ſhould inſenſibly bend his opinion to the neceſſity of his affairs, and ſhould believe that party to have the beſt arguments, who could alone put him in poſſeſſion of a kingdom. All circumſtances, therefore, being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the proteſtant religion, and was ſolemnly received, by the French prelates of his party, into the boſom of the church.

Elizabeth,

CHAP. XLIII. 1593.

ELIZABETH. who was, herſelf, attached to the proteſtants, chiefly by her intereſts and the circumſtances of her birth, and who ſeems to have entertained ſome propenſity, during her whole life, to the catholic ſuperſtition, at leaſt to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended, to be extremely diſpleaſed with this abjuration of Henry; and ſhe wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this intereſted change of his religion. Senſible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies, ſhe hearkened to his apologies; continued her ſuccours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually ſtipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

Scotch affairs.

THE intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: By means of the never failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new diſorders in Scotland, and gave freſh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was paſſing ſecretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conſpiracy of ſome catholic noblemen with Philip was diſcovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spaniſh monarch: And had ſtipulated to raiſe all their forces; to join them to a body of Spaniſh troops, which Philip engaged to ſend into Scotland; and after re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power, in order to effectuate the ſame purpoſe in England [c]. Graham of Fintry, who had alſo entered into this conſpiracy, was taken, and arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth ſent lord Borough ambaſſador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exerciſe the ſame ſeverity on the three earls, to confiſcate their eſtates, and by annexing them to the

[c] Spotſwood, p. 391. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 190.

CHAP. XLIII.

1593. crown, both encreaſe his own demeſnes, and ſet an example to all his ſubjects of the dangers attending treaſon and rebellion. This advice was certainly rational, but not eaſy to be executed by the ſmall revenue and limited authority of James. He deſired, therefore, ſome ſupply from her of men and money; but though ſhe had reaſon to deem the proſecution of the three popiſh earls a common cauſe, ſhe never could be prevailed on to grant him the leaſt aſſiſtance. The tenth part of the expence, which ſhe beſtowed in ſupporting the French king, and the States, would have ſufficed to execute this purpoſe, more immediately eſſential to her ſecurity [d]: But ſhe ſeems ever to have borne ſome degree of malignity to James, whom ſhe hated, both as her heir, and as the ſon of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James aſſiſtance to proſecute the catholic conſpirators, the queen rather contributed to encreaſe his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent diſpoſition of the earl of Bothwel [e], a nobleman deſcended from a natural ſon of James V. Bothwel more than once attempted to render himſelf maſter of the king's perſon; and being expelled the kingdom for theſe traiterous enterprizes, he took ſhelter in England, was ſecretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of ſtill effecting ſome new violence. He ſucceeded at laſt in an attempt on the king; and by the mediation of the Engliſh ambaſſador, impoſed very diſhonourable terms upon that prince: But James, by the authority of the convention of ſtates, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwel the country; and obliged him to take ſhelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which ſhe was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scot-

[d] Spotſwood, p. 393. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 235. [e] Spotſwood, p. 257, 258.

land. During these disorders, encreased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, the prosecution of the catholic earls remained in suspence; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commission, found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed, on certain terms, to leave the kingdom. Bothwel, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter, first in France, then in Italy, where he died, some years after, in great poverty. CHAP. XLIII. 1594.

THE established authority of the queen secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traiterous and perfidious machinations, as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed, that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his promise. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction [f]. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Iberra, equally atrocious [g].

INSTEAD of revenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable vengeance,

f Camden, p. 577. Birch's Negot. p. 15. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 381.
g Camden, p. 582.

CHAP. XLIII.

by supporting the king of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the

1594. conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. Norris commanded the English forces in Britanny, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns guarded by Spanish forces in that province. In every action, the English, though they had so long enjoyed domestic peace, discovered a strong military disposition; and the queen, though herself a heroine, found more frequent occasion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution[h]: Sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, perished, with many others, before Brest. Morlaix had been promised to the English for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promise, by making it be inserted in the capitulation, that none but catholics should be admitted into that city.

1595. NEXT campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces, and sent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding also, that the French league was almost entirely dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought, that he could well support himself by his own force and valour; and she began to be more sparing, in his cause, of the blood and treasure of her subjects.

SOME disgusts, which she had received from the States, joined to the remonstrances of her frugal minister, Bur-

[h] Camden, p. 578.

leigh, made her alſo inclined to diminiſh her charges on that ſide; and ſhe even demanded, by her ambaſſador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimburſed all the money, which ſhe had expended in ſupporting them. The States, beſides alledging the conditions of the former treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her, till the concluſion of a peace, pleaded their preſent poverty and diſtreſs, the great ſuperiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty of ſupporting the war; much more, of ſaving money to diſcharge their incumbrances. After much negociation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the Engliſh auxiliaries, computed at forty thouſand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thouſand pounds for ſome years; to aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her conſent. They alſo bound themſelves, on finiſhing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment ſhould be in lieu of all demands, and that they ſhould be ſupplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thouſand auxiliaries from England [i].

CHAP. XLIII. 1596.

THE queen ſtill retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the riſing power of the States; and ſhe committed the important truſt of Fluſhing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had been much diſtinguiſhed by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Eſſex, who expected ſo honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily riſing both in reputation with the people, and favour with herſelf, the queen, who was commonly reſerved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper, on this occaſion, to give him a refuſal. Sir Thomas

[i] Camden, p. 586.

CHAP. XLIII.

Baſkerville was ſent over to France at the head of two thouſand Engliſh, with which Elizabeth, by a new

1596. treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to ſupply that prince. Some ſtipulations for mutual aſſiſtance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

1597. THIS body of Engliſh troops were maintained at the expence of the French king; yet did Henry eſteem the ſupply of conſiderable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the Engliſh, in ſo many fortunate enterprizes, undertaken againſt the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by prince Maurice, the Engliſh auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sidney, had extremely diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and the ſucceſs of that day was univerſally aſcribed to their diſcipline and valour.

Naval enterprizes. THOUGH Elizabeth, at a conſiderable expence of blood and treaſure, made war againſt Philip in France and the Low Countries, the moſt ſevere blows, which ſhe gave him, were by thoſe naval enterprizes, which either ſhe or her ſubjects ſcarcely ever intermitted during one ſeaſon. In 1594, Richard Hawkins, ſon to Sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commiſſion, and ſailed with three ſhips to the South Sea by the ſtraits of Magellan: But his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himſelf was taken priſoner on the coaſt of Chili. James Lancaſter was ſupplied the ſame year with three ſhips and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ſhips of the enemy; and not content with this ſucceſs, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where, he knew, great treaſures were at that time lodged. As he approached the ſhore, he ſaw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but no-wiſe daunted at this appearance, he placed the ſtouteſt

ſtouteſt of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with ſuch violence, on the landing place, as to ſplit them in pieces. By this bold action, he both deprived his men of all reſource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a ſhort reſiſtance. He returned home with the treaſure, which he had ſo bravely acquired. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had anew forfeited the queen's friendſhip by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been confined in priſon for this miſdemeanor, no ſooner recovered his liberty, than he was puſhed, by his active and enterprizing genius, to attempt ſome great action. The ſucceſs of the firſt Spaniſh adventurers againſt Mexico and Peru had begot an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepoſſeſſion univerſally took place, that, in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiſcovered, there were mines and treaſures and riches far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizzaro had met with. Raleigh, whoſe turn of mind was ſomewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook at his own charge the diſcovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the ſmall town of St. Joſeph in the iſle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ſhip, and ſailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to anſwer his expectations. On his return, he publiſhed an account of this country, full of the groſſeſt and moſt palpable lies, that were ever attempted to be impoſed on the credulity of mankind [k].

THE ſame year, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and they carried with them ſix ſhips of the queen's and twenty more, which they had either fitted out at their own charge, or which were furniſhed them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was appointed commander of the

[k] Camden, p. 584.

land

CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

land forces, which they carried on board. Their firſt deſign was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time ſtationed; but as they had not preſerved the requiſite ſecrecy, a pinnace, having ſtrayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the Engliſh. Preparations were made in that iſland for their reception; and the Engliſh fleet, notwithſtanding the brave aſſault, which they made on the enemy, was repulſed with loſs. Hawkins ſoon after died; and Drake purſued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the iſthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to paſs forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found ſuch a ſcheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the ſame facility, which had attended his firſt enterprizes in thoſe parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the paſſes, and had ſtationed troops in the woods; who ſo infeſted the Engliſh by continual alarms and ſkirmiſhes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effectuate any thing. Drake himſelf, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his diſappointment, was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died. Sir Thomas Baſkerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spaniſh fleet, of which the event was not deciſive, he returned to England. The Spaniards ſuffered ſome loſs from this enterprize; but the Engliſh reaped no profit [1].

THE bad ſucceſs of this enterprize in the Indies made the Engliſh rather attempt the Spaniſh dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invaſion of England. A powerful

[1] Monſon, p. 167.

fleet

fleet was equipped at Plymouth conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy veſſels, ſeventeen of which were capital ſhips of war; the reſt tenders and ſmall veſſels: Twenty ſhips were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen, beſide the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Eſſex: The navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both theſe commanders had expended great ſums of their own in the armament: For ſuch was the ſpirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral [m].

CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

THE fleet ſet ſail on the firſt of June 1596; and meeting with a fair wind, bent its courſe to Cadiz, at which place, by ſealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They ſent before them ſome armed tenders, which intercepted every ſhip, that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themſelves were ſo fortunate when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Iriſh veſſel, by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ſhips of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect ſecurity, without any apprehenſions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the Engliſh fleet, and gave them the proſpect of a fortunate iſſue to the enterprize.

AFTER a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtians on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz; it was, upon deliberation, reſolved by the council of war to attack the ſhips and gallies in the bay. This attempt was deemed raſh; and the admiral himſelf, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great ſcruples with regard

[m] Camden, p. 591.

to

CHAP. XLIII.

1597.

to it: But Eſſex ſtrenuouſly recommended the enterprize; and when he found the reſolution at laſt taken, he threw his hat into the ſea, and gave ſymptoms of the moſt extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his ſafety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had ſecretly given orders, that he ſhould not be permitted to command the van in the attack [n]. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Eſſex no ſooner came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot the promiſe, which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midſt of the fleet; he broke through and preſſed forward into the thickeſt of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animoſity againſt the Spaniards proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was ſoon obliged to ſlip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ſhips aground. Eſſex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the Engliſh ſoon carried ſword in hand. The generoſity of Eſſex, not inferior to his valour, made him ſtop the ſlaughter, and treat his priſoners with the greateſt humanity, and even affability and kindneſs. The Engliſh made rich plunder in the city; but miſſed of a much richer by the reſolution, which the duke of Medina, the Spaniſh admiral, took of ſetting fire to the ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed, that the loſs, which the Spaniards ſuſtained in this enterprize, amounted to twenty millions of ducats [o]; beſides the indignity, which that proud and ambitious people ſuffered, from ſacking one of their chief cities, and deſtroying in their harbour a fleet of ſuch force and value.

[n] Monſon, p. 196.

[o] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

ESSEX,

CHAP. XLIII.

1597.

Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to future atchievements: He insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; and he undertook with four hundred men and three months provisions, to defend the place, till succours should arrive from England: But all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honour, which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his scheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for assaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebastian: And the English, finding so great difficulty to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast, attended with very few ships. He complained much to the queen, of their want of spirit in this enterprize; nor was she pleased, that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet [p]; but the great success, in the enterprize on Cadiz, had covered all their miscarriages: And that princess, though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, could not forbear expressing an esteem for the other officers [q]. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex [r]. In the preamble of the patent it was said, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships; a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself: And he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The atchievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly escaped the English, Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantage of that war in which he was engaged,

[p] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 121. [q] Camden, p. 593. [r] Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 77.

and

CHAP. XLIII.

and the ſuperiority which the Engliſh, by their naval power and their ſituation, had acquired over him. The

1597. queen, having received intelligence, that the Spaniards, though their fleets were ſo much ſhattered and deſtroyed, by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a ſquadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither, with a view of making a deſcent in Ireland, was reſolved to prevent their enterprize, and to deſtroy the ſhipping in theſe harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty ſail, of which ſeventeen were her own ſhips, forty-three were ſmaller veſſels, and the reſt tenders and victuallers: She embarked on board this fleet five thouſand new-levied ſoldiers, and added a thouſand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The earl of Eſſex, commander in chief, both of the land and ſea forces, was at the head of one ſquadron: Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third: Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Eſſex: Vere was appointed marſhal: Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Chriſtopher Blount firſt colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwel, and Rich, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, embarked as volunteers. Eſſex declared his reſolution either to deſtroy the new Armada, which threatened England, or to periſh in the attempt.

9th July. THIS powerful fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth; but were no ſooner out of harbour than they met with a furious ſtorm, which ſhattered and diſperſed them; and before they could be refitted, Eſſex found, that their proviſions were ſo far ſpent, that it would not be ſafe to carry ſo numerous an army along with him. He diſmiſſed, therefore, all the ſoldiers, except the thouſand veterans under Vere; and laying aſide all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition

to

to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; which had at firſt been conſidered only as the ſecond enterprize which he was to attempt. CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

THE Indian fleet, in that age, by reaſon of the imperfection of navigation, had a ſtated courſe, as well as ſeaſon, both in their going out, and in their return; and there were certain iſlands, at which, as at fixed ſtages, they always touched, and where they took in water and proviſions. The Azores, being one of theſe places, where, about this time, the fleet was expected, Eſſex bent his courſe thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of theſe iſlands. By ſome accident the ſquadrons were ſeparated; and Raleigh arriving firſt before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting ſome time for the general, to begin the attack alone, leſt the inhabitants ſhould, by farther delay, have leiſure to make preparations for their defence. He ſucceeded in the enterprize; but Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at this conduct, and conſtrued it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: He caſhiered, therefore, Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded Raleigh, though high-ſpirited, to make ſubmiſſions to the general. Eſſex, who was placable, as well as haſty and paſſionate, was ſoon appeaſed, and both received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their commands [s]. This incident, however, though the quarrel was ſeemingly accommodated, laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity, which afterwards took place between theſe two gallant commanders.

[s] Monſon, p. 173.

ESSEX

CHAP. XLIII.

1597. Essex made next a disposition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and Sir William Monson, whose station was the most remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the signals which had been agreed on. That able officer, in his Memoirs, ascribes Essex's failure of success, when he was so near attaining so mighty an advantage, to his want of experience in seamanship; and the account, which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman, appears very reasonable as well as candid [r]. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to the Terceras, and got into the safe and well fortified harbour of Angra, before the English fleet could overtake them. Essex intercepted only three ships; which, however, were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The causes of the miscarriage in this enterprize were much canvassed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took party differently, as they affected either Essex or Raleigh, the people, in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, second son of lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promising hopes, much connected with Raleigh; and she made him secretary of state, preferably to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex recommended for that office. But not to disgust Essex, she promoted him to the dignity of earl Marshal of England; an office which had been vacant since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury. Essex might perceive from this conduct, that she never intended to give him the entire ascendant over his rivals, and

[r] Monson, p. 174.

might

might thence learn the neceſſity of moderation and caution. But his temper was too high for ſubmiſſion; his behaviour too open and candid to practiſe the arts of a court; and his free ſallies, while they rendered him but more amiable in the eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many advantages againſt him. CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

THE war with Spain, though ſucceſsful, having exhauſted the queen's exchequer, ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons [u]. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to inform this aſſembly of the neceſſity of a ſupply. She ſaid, that the wars, formerly waged in Europe, had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at moſt a province, from each other; but the object of the preſent hoſtilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independance: That theſe bleſſings, however, ſhe herſelf had hitherto been able to preſerve, in ſpite of the devil, the pope, and the Spaniſh tyrant, and all the miſchievous deſigns of all her enemies: That in this conteſt ſhe had diſburſed a ſum treble to all the parliamentary ſupplies granted her; and beſides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to ſell many of the crown lands: And that ſhe could not doubt, but her ſubjects, in a cauſe where their own honour and intereſt were ſo deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to ſuch moderate taxations as ſhould be found neceſſary for their common defence [x]. The parliament granted her three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths; the ſame ſupply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared ſo unu- 24th Oct.

[u] See note [HH] at the end of the volume. [x] D'Ewes, p. 525, 527. Townſend, p. 79.

CHAP. XLIII.

1597.

ſual, that they had voted it ſhould never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

THE commons, this ſeſſion, ventured to engage in two controverſies about forms with the houſe of peers; a prelude to thoſe encroachments, which, as they aſſumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their meſſages ſitting with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an anſwer in the ſame negligent poſture: But the upper houſe proved, to their full ſatisfaction, that they were not entitled, by cuſtom, and the uſage of parliament, to any more reſpect [y]. Some amendments had been made by the lords, to a bill ſent up by the commons; and theſe amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower houſe took umbrage at the novelty: They pretended, that theſe amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not ſuch a frivolous objection from the gravity of the houſe; and that it was not material, whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which ſeemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any ſatisfaction [z].

AN application was made, by way of petition to the queen, from the lower houſe, againſt monopolies; an abuſe which had riſen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general anſwer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments [a]. But

[y] D'Ewes, p. 539, 540, 580, 585. Townſend, p. 93, 94, 95.
[z] D'Ewes, p. 576, 577. [a] Ibid, p. 570, 573.

not to give them too much encouragement in such applications, she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That with regard to these patents, "she hoped, that her dutiful and loving subjects would "not take away her prerogative, which is the chief "flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl "in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather "leave these matters to her disposal [b]." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high commission; but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose [c]. CHAP. XLIII. 1597.

ELIZABETH had reason to foresee, that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever; and that the chief burthen of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie on England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negociation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that, if possible, a general pacification might be made by common consent and agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France, in order to remonstrate against peace; the queen, Sir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the States, Justin Nassau, and John Barnevelt. Henry said to these ministers, that his early education had been amidst war and danger, and he had passed the whole course of his life either in arms or in military preparations: That after the proofs, which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt, but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a course of life, to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy was reduced to such a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to 1598.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 547. [c] Ibid. p. 557, 558.

CHAP. XLIII. 1598.

him or to his allies: That no private intereſts of his own, not even thoſe of his people, nothing but the moſt inevitable neceſſity, could ever induce him to think of a ſeparate peace with Philip, or make him embrace meaſures not entirely conformable to the wiſhes of all his confederates: That his kingdom, torne with the convulſions and civil wars of near half a century, required ſome interval of repoſe, ere it could reach a condition, in which it might ſuſtain itſelf, much more ſupport its allies: That after the minds of his ſubjects were compoſed to tranquillity and accuſtomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were reſtored, France, inſtead of being a burthen, as at preſent, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual ſuccour, and amply to repay them all the aſſiſtance, which ſhe had received during her calamities: And that, if the ambition of Spain would not at preſent grant them ſuch terms as they ſhould think reaſonable, he hoped, that, in a little time, he ſhould attain ſuch a ſituation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more deciſive authority, in their behalf.

THE ambaſſadors were ſenſible, that theſe reaſons were not feigned; and they therefore remonſtrated with the leſs vehemence againſt the meaſures, which, they ſaw, Henry was determined to purſue. The States knew, that that monarch was intereſted never to permit their final ruin; and having received private aſſurances, that he would ſtill, notwithſtanding the peace, give them aſſiſtance both of men and money, they were well pleaſed to remain on terms of amity with him. His greateſt concern was to give ſatisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial eſteem for that princeſs, a ſympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favours, which he had received from her,

during his greateſt difficulties: And he uſed every expedient to apologize and atone for that meaſure, which neceſſity extorted from him. But as Spain refuſed to treat with the Dutch as a free ſtate, and Elizabeth would not negociate without her ally, Henry found himſelf obliged to conclude, at Vervins, a ſeparate peace, by which he recovered poſſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Spain during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured to himſelf leiſure to purſue the domeſtic ſettlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wiſe government, he raiſed France, from the deſolation and miſery, in which ſhe was involved, to a more flouriſhing condition than ſhe had ever before enjoyed.

1598. Peace of Vervins.

THE queen knew, that ſhe could alſo, whenever ſhe pleaſed, finiſh the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himſelf from an enemy, who had foiled him in every conteſt, and who ſtill had it ſo much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wiſeſt counſellors, particularly the treaſurer, adviſed her to embrace pacific meaſures; and ſet before her the advantages of tranquillity, ſecurity, and frugality, as more conſiderable than any ſucceſs, which could attend the greateſt victories. But that high-ſpirited princeſs, though at firſt averſe to war, ſeemed now to have attained ſuch an aſcendant over the enemy, that ſhe was unwilling to ſtop the courſe of her proſperous fortune. She conſidered, that her ſituation and her paſt victories had given her entire ſecurity againſt any dangerous invaſion; and the war muſt henceforth be conducted by ſudden enterprizes and naval expeditions, in which ſhe poſſeſſed an undoubted ſuperiority: That the weak condition of Philip in the Indies opened to her the view of the moſt

CHAP. XLIII. 1598.

desirable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by sea afforded a continual prospect of important, though more temporary, successes: That, after his peace with France, if she also should consent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly encreased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain war against so potent a monarch: And that as her defence of that commonweath was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe, as well as dishonourable, to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

THESE reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of that war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalship between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command, equal to his shining qualities, he would have so rivetted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: But his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference, which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and

The earl of Essex.

she

CHAP. XLIII.

1598.

ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a paſſionate expreſſion, ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore he would not bear ſuch uſage, were it from Henry VIII. himſelf; and, in a great paſſion, he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country: But Eſſex was deeply ſtung with the diſhonour, which he had received; and ſeemed to think, that an inſult, which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his ſovereign. "If "the vileſt of all indignities," ſaid he, "is done me, "does religion enforce me to ſue for pardon? Doth God "require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot "princes err? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an "earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can "never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let Solomon's "fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to "make their profit of princes, ſhew no ſenſe of princes' "injuries: Let *them* acknowledge an infinite abſolute-"neſs on earth, that do not believe an abſolute Infinite-"neſs in heaven:" (alluding, probably, to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety. "As for me," continued he, "I "have received wrong, I feel it: My cauſe is good, I "know it; and whatſoever happens, all the powers "on earth can never exert more ſtrength and conſtancy "in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering every "thing that can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your "lordſhip, in the beginning of your letter, makes me

CHAP. XLIII.

1598. "a player, and yourself a looker on: And me a player of "my own game, so you may see more than I: But give "me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I "do suffer, I must of necessity feel more than you[d]."

This spirited letter was shown by Essex to his friends; and they were so imprudent as to disperse copies of it: Yet notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about the same time, 4th Aug. seemed to ensure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually, from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute, or uncontrouled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her, during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: Virtues, which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling

[d] See note [II] at the end of the volume.

them,

them. Of all the queen's miniſters he alone left a conſi- CHAP. XLIII.
derable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppreſſion, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preſerved by frugality. 1598.

THE laſt act of this able miniſter was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being, in ſome meaſure, deſerted by the king of France, were glad to preſerve the queen's alliance, by ſubmitting to any terms which ſhe pleaſed to require of them. The debt, which they owed her, was now ſettled at eight hundred thouſand pounds: Of this ſum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thouſand pounds a-year; and theſe payments were to continue till four hundred thouſand pounds of the debt ſhould be extinguiſhed. They engaged alſo, during the time that England ſhould continue the war with Spain, to pay the garriſon of the cautionary towns. They ſtipulated, that, if Spain ſhould invade England, or the Iſle of Wight, or Jerſey, or Scilly, they ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; and that in caſe ſhe undertook any naval armament againſt Spain, they ſhould join an equal number of ſhips to hers [c]. By this treaty the queen was eaſed of an annual charge of an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. 8th Aug.

SOON after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loſs of ſo wiſe and faithful a miniſter, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II. who, after languiſhing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, deſirous of an accommodation with his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, but diſdaining to make in his own name the conceſſions requiſite for that purpoſe, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert,

[c] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 340.

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CHAP. XLIII.

1598.

the property of the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected, that this princeſs could have poſterity, and as the reverſion, on failure of her iſſue, was ſtill reſerved to the crown of Spain, the States conſidered this deed only as the change of a name, and they perſiſted with equal obſtinacy in their reſiſtance to the Spaniſh arms. The other powers alſo of Europe made no diſtinction between the courts of Bruſſels and Madrid; and the ſecret oppoſition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate againſt the progreſs of Albert, as it had done againſt that of Philip.

# CHAP. XLIV.

*State of Ireland——Tyrone's rebellion——Eſſex ſent over to Ireland——His ill ſucceſs——Returns to England——Is diſgraced——His intrigues——His inſurrection——His trial and execution——French affairs——Mountjoy's ſucceſs in Ireland——Defeat of the Spaniards and Iriſh——A parliament——Tyrone's ſubmiſſion——Queen's ſickneſs——And death——And character.*

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

State of Ireland.

THOUGH the dominion of the Engliſh over Ireland had been eſtabliſhed above four centuries, it may ſafely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Iriſh princes and nobles, divided among themſelves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeiſance to a power which they were not able to reſiſt; but, as no durable force was ever keeped on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapſed ſtill into their former ſtate of independance. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the Engliſh authority was yet ſufficient to check the growth of any enterprizing genius among the natives: And though it could beſtow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the riſe of any ſuch form, from the internal combination or policy of the Iriſh [a].

MOST of the Engliſh inſtitutions likewiſe, by which that iſland was governed, were to the laſt degree abſurd, and ſuch as no ſtate before had ever thought of, for preſerving dominion over its conquered provinces.

[a] Sir J. Davies, p. 5, 6, 7, &c.

THE

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

THE Engliſh nation, all on fire for the project of ſubduing France, a project, whoſe ſucceſs was the moſt improbable, and would to them have proved the moſt pernicious; neglected all other enterprizes, to which their ſituation ſo ſtrongly invited them, and which, in time, would have brought them an acceſſion of riches, grandeur, and ſecurity. The ſmall army, which they maintained in Ireland, they never ſupplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied from the iſland, which poſſeſſed none, they gave their ſoldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and inſolence inflamed the hatred, which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: Want of ſecurity among the Iriſh, introducing deſpair, nouriſhed ſtill more the ſloth, natural to that uncultivated people.

BUT the Engliſh carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Inſtead of inviting the Iriſh to adopt the more civilized cuſtoms of their conquerors, they even refuſed, though earneſtly ſolicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of juſtice, the natives could find no ſecurity but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with ſafety, they ſheltered themſelves in their marſhes and foreſts from the inſolence of their inhuman maſters. Being treated like wild beaſts, they became ſuch; and joining the ardor of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous [b].

As the Engliſh princes deemed the conqueſt of the diſperſed Iriſh to be more the object of time and patience than the ſource of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, inliſting ſoldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that iſland,

[b] Sir J. Davies, p. 102, 103, &c.

which

which they converted to their own profit. Separate ju- CHAP. XLIV.
risdictions and principalities were eſtabliſhed by theſe lordly conquerors: The power of peace and war was 1599.
aſſumed: Military law was exerciſed over the Iriſh, whom they ſubdued, and, by degrees, over the Engliſh, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered: And, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the Engliſh inſtitutions leſs favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Iriſh, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their native country [c].

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependant ſtate remained ſtill in that abject condition, into which the northern and weſtern parts of Europe were ſunk, before they received civility and ſlavery from the refined policy and irreſiſtible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the ſixteenth century, when every chriſtian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that iſland, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile ſoil, acceſſible in its ſituation, poſſeſſed of innumerable harbours, was ſtill, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, inhabited by a people, whoſe cuſtoms and manners approached nearer thoſe of ſavages than of barbarians [d].

As the rudeneſs and ignorance of the Iriſh was extreme, they were ſunk below the reach of that curioſity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been ſeized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious diſputes, with which they were ſtill ſo violently agitated. The ancient ſuperſtition, the practices and obſervances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, ſtill maintained an unſhaken empire over them; and the example alone of the Engliſh was ſufficient to

[c] Sir J. Davies, p. 133, 134, &c. Ireland, throughout.

[d] See Spencer's account of

render

CHAP. XLIV.

render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Iriſh. The old oppoſition of manners, laws, and intereſts was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the ſubduing and civilizing of that country ſeemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

1599.

THE animoſity againſt the Engliſh was carried ſo far by the Iriſh, that, in an inſurrection, raiſed by two ſons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the ſword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Iriſh; becauſe they began to conform themſelves to Engliſh cuſtoms and inſtitutions, and had embraced a more cultivated and civilized form of life, than had been practiſed by their barbarous anceſtors [d].

THE uſual revenue of Ireland amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds a-year [e]: The queen, though with much repining [f], commonly added twenty thouſand more, which ſhe remitted from England: And with this ſmall revenue, a body of a thouſand men was ſupported, which, on extraordinary emergencies, was augmented to two thouſand [g]. No wonder that a force, ſo diſproportioned to the object, inſtead of ſubduing a mutinous kingdom, ſerved rather to provoke the natives, and to excite thoſe frequent inſurrections and rebellions, which ſtill farther inflamed the animoſity between the two nations, and encreaſed the barbarity and diſorders, to which the Iriſh were naturally ſubject.

IN 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale, as the Iriſh called him, becauſe head of that potent clan, raiſed a rebellion in Ulſter; but after ſome ſkirmiſhes, he was received into favour, upon his ſubmiſſion, and his promiſe of a more dutiful behaviour for the future [h]. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new inſurrection in

[d] Camden, p. 457. [e] Memoirs of the Sidneys, vol. i. p. 86.
[f] Cox, p. 342. Sidney, vol. i. p. 85, 200. [g] Camden, p. 542. Sidney, vol. i. p. 65, 109, 183, 184. [h] Camden, p. 385, 391.

1567;

1567; but being puſhed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than ſubmit to the Engliſh, he put himſelf into the hands of ſome Scottiſh iſlanders, who commonly infeſted thoſe parts by their incurſions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel againſt him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hoſpitality, and murdered him at a feſtival, to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred of the Engliſh nation. He is ſaid to have put ſome of his followers to death, becauſe they endeavoured to introduce the uſe of bread after the Engliſh faſhion [i]. Though ſo violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accuſtomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame, which he had raiſed by former exceſſes [k]. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who ſcorned the title of earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have reſtored to him, and who aſſumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulſter. He uſed alſo to ſay, that, though the queen was his ſovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her ſeeking [l]. 1599.

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wiſeſt and moſt active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for ſeveral reigns [m]; and he poſſeſſed his authority eleven years; during which time, he ſtruggled with many difficulties, and made ſome progreſs in repreſſing thoſe diſorders, which had become inveterate among that people. The earl of Deſmond, in 1569, gave him diſturbance, from the hereditary animoſity, which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, deſcended from the only family, eſtabliſhed in Ireland, that had ſteddily

[i] Camden, p. 409.
[k] Ibid. p. 409. Cox, p. 324.
[l] Ibid. p. 321.
[m] Cox, p. 350.

maintained

CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

maintained its loyalty to the Engliſh crown [n]. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France, before his deſigns were ripe for execution. Stukeley, another fugitive, found ſuch credit with the pope, Gregory the XIIIth, that he flattered his holineſs with the proſpect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquiſs of Leinſter from the new ſovereign [o]. He paſſed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an inſtrument in diſturbing queen Elizabeth, he was found to poſſeſs too little intereſt for executing thoſe high promiſes, which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of Don Sebaſtian, he periſhed with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition againſt the Moors.

Lord Gray ſucceeded Sidney in the government of Ireland; and, in 1579, ſuppreſſed a new rebellion of the earl of Deſmond, though ſupported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occaſioned by the ſtrict and equitable adminiſtration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repreſs the tyranny of the chieftains over their vaſſals [p]. The queen, finding Ireland ſo burthenſome to her, tried ſeveral expedients for reducing it to a ſtate of greater order and ſubmiſſion. She encouraged the earl of Eſſex, father to that nobleman, who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the ſubduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of ſome late forfeitures: But that enterprize proved unfortunate; and Eſſex died of a

[n] Camden, p. 424.
[o] Ibid. p. 430. Cox, p. 354.
[p] Stowe, p. 720.

diſtemper,

distemper, occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation, which he had conceived, from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants [q]. But the most unhappy expedient, employed in the government of Ireland, was that made use of in 1585, by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: He put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested [r]. At the same time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars; and thus Ireland, being provided both with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters. 1599.

Tyrone's rebellion.

HUGH O'NEALE, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders, by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, so common among uncultivated nations; and was also eminent for courage, a virtue, which their disorderly course of life requires, and which notwithstanding, being less supported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them, than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, Odon-

[q] Camden, p. 566.

[r] Nanton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 203.

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

nels, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet truſting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and profeſſions, he put himſelf into the hands of Sir William Ruſſel, who, in the year 1594, was ſent over deputy into Ireland. Contrary to the advice and proteſtation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marſhal of the army, he was diſmiſſed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the reſolution of raiſing an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the Engliſh government. He entered into a correſpondence with Spain: He procured thence a ſupply of arms and ammunition: And having united all the Iriſh chieftains in a dependance upon himſelf, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

THE native Iriſh were ſo miſerably poor, that their country afforded few other commodities but cattle and oatmeal, which were eaſily deſtroyed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averſe to the expence requiſite for ſupporting her armies, the Engliſh found much difficulty in puſhing their advantages, and in purſuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other faſtneſſes, to which they retreated. Theſe motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the Engliſh army, the more willing to hearken to any propoſals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was ſpun out by theſe artifices for ſome years, that gallant Engliſhman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promiſes, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was ſeized with a languiſhing diſtemper, and died of vexation and diſcontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who ſucceeded him in the command, was ſtill more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, beſieged by the rebels, he was ſurrounded in diſadvantageous ground; his ſoldiers, diſcouraged by part of their powder's accidentally

dentally taking fire, were put to flight; and, though the purſuit was ſtopped by Montacute, who commanded the Engliſh horſe, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himſelf, were left dead upon the ſpot. This victory, ſo unuſual to the Iriſh, mightily raiſed their ſpirits, ſupplied them with arms and ammunition, and raiſed the reputation of Tyrone, who aſſumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Iriſh liberty [s].

CHAP. XLIV. 1559.

THE Engliſh council were now ſenſible, that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts, of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchaſe pardons by reſigning part of the plunder, acquired during their inſurrection, ſerved only to encourage the ſpirit of mutiny and diſorder among them. It was therefore reſolved to puſh the war by more vigorous meaſures; and the queen caſt her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto leſs accuſtomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, ſhe thought, with talents equal to that undertaking. But the young earl of Eſſex, ambitious of glory, and deſirous of obtaining this government for himſelf, oppoſed the choice of Mountjoy; and repreſented the neceſſity of appointing, for that important employment, ſome perſon more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practiſed in buſineſs, and of higher quality and reputation. By this deſcription, he was underſtood to mean himſelf [t]; and no ſooner was his deſire known, to to be poſſeſſed of that government, than his enemies, even more zealouſly than his friends, conſpired to gratify his wiſhes. Many of his friends thought, that he never ought to conſent, except for a ſhort time, to accept of employments, which muſt remove him from

[s] Cox, p. 415. [t] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

court, and prevent him from cultivating that perſonal inclination, which the queen ſo viſibly bore him [u]. His enemies hoped, that, if by his abſence, ſhe had once leiſure to forget the charms of his perſon and converſation, his impatient and lofty demeanor would ſoon diſguſt a princeſs, who uſually exacted ſuch profound ſubmiſſion and implicit obedience from all her ſervants. But Eſſex was incapable of entering into ſuch cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely deſirous of ſubduing the Iriſh rebels, and who was much prepoſſeſſed in favour of Eſſex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, under the title of lord lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, ſhe granted him by his patent more extenſive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finiſhing the war as he pleaſed, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the moſt conſiderable employments of the kingdom [x]. And to enſure him of ſucceſs, ſhe levied a numerous army of ſixteen thouſand foot and thirteen hundred horſe, which ſhe afterwards augmented to twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: A force, which, it was apprehended, would be able, in one campaign, to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conqueſt of Ireland. Nor did Eſſex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, throw any obſtacles in the way of theſe preparations; but hoped, that the higher the queen's expectations of ſucceſs were raiſed, the more difficult it would be for the event to correſpond to them. In a like view, they rather ſeconded than oppoſed, thoſe exalted encomiums, which Eſſex's numerous and ſanguine friends diſperſed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generoſity, and his noble birth; nor

Eſſex ſent over to Ireland.

[u] Cabala, p. 79. [x] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 366.

were

were they diſpleaſed to obſerve that paſſionate fondneſs, which the people every where expreſſed for this nobleman. These artful politicians had ſtudied his character; and finding, that his open and undaunted ſpirit, if taught temper and reſerve from oppoſition, muſt become invincible, they reſolved rather to give full breath to thoſe ſails, which were already too much expanded, and to puſh him upon dangers, of which he ſeemed to make ſuch ſmall account [y]. And the better to make advantage of his indiſcretions, ſpies were ſet upon all his actions and even expreſſions; and his vehement ſpirit, which, while he was in the midſt of the court and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with diſguiſe, could not fail, after he thought himſelf ſurrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant ſuſpicions and conſtructions. CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended by the acclamations of the populace; and what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his perſon, had attached themſelves to his fortunes, and ſought fame and military experience under ſo renowned a commander. The firſt act of authority, which he exerciſed, after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiſcretion, but of the generous kind; and in both theſe reſpects, ſuitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe; a nobleman, who had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure, by ſecretly marrying without her conſent, and whom ſhe had therefore enjoined Eſſex not to employ in any command under him. She no ſooner heard of this inſtance of diſobedience than ſhe reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commiſſion to Southampton. But Eſſex, who had imagined, that ſome reaſons, which he oppoſed to her firſt injunc-

[y] Camden. Oſborne, p. 371.

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

tions, had convinced her, had the imprudence to remonſtrate againſt theſe ſecond orders[z]; and it was not till ſhe reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to diſplace his friend.

His ill ſucceſs.

ESSEX, on his landing at Dublin, had deliberated with the Iriſh council, concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war againſt the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprize. He had always, while in England, blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who haraſſed their troops in ſmall enterprizes, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leiſure to recruit their broken forces[a]. In conformity to theſe views, he had ever inſiſted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his inſtructions had been drawn agreeably to theſe his declared intentions and reſolutions. But the Iriſh counſellors perſuaded him, that the ſeaſon was too early for the enterprize, and that, as the moraſſes, in which the northern Iriſh uſually ſheltered themſelves, would not, as yet, be paſſable to the Engliſh forces, it would be better to employ the preſent time in an expedition into Munſter. Their ſecret reaſon for this advice was, that many of them poſſeſſed eſtates in that province, and were deſirous to have the enemy diſlodged from their neighbourhood[b]: But the ſame ſelfiſh ſpirit, which had induced them to give this counſel, made them ſoon after diſown it, when they found the bad conſequences, with which it was attended[c].

ESSEX obliged all the rebels of Munſter either to ſubmit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: But as

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 421, 451. [a] Ibid. p. 431. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512. [b] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 448. [c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 140.

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the Iriſh, from the greatneſs of the queen's preparations, had concluded, that ſhe intended to reduce them to total ſubjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they conſidered their defence as a common cauſe; and the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munſter relapſed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become ſickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was ſurprizingly diminiſhed in number. The courage of the ſoldiers was even much abated: For though they had prevailed in ſome leſſer enterprizes, againſt lord Cahir and others; yet had they ſometimes met with more ſtout reſiſtance than they expected from the Iriſh, whom they were wont to deſpiſe; and as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a conſiderable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Eſſex was ſo enraged at this miſbehaviour, that he caſhiered all the officers, and decimated the private men [d]. But this inſtance of ſeverity, though neceſſary, had intimidated the ſoldiers, and encreaſed their averſion to the preſent ſervice.

CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

THE queen was extremely diſguſted, when ſhe heard, that ſo conſiderable a part of the ſeaſon was conſumed in theſe frivolous enterprizes; and was ſtill more ſurprized, that Eſſex perſevered in the ſame practice, which he had ſo much condemned in others, and which he knew to be ſo much contrary to her purpoſe and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leiſure to recruit from their ſickneſs and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a ſmall body, of fifteen hundred men, into the county of Ophelie againſt the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a ſubmiſ-

[d] Cox, p. 421.

CHAP. XLIV.

1559.

sion: But, on his return to Dublin, he found the army so extremely diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of its condition, and informed them, that, if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded [e]; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprize, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted [f]; and Essex found, that, after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible, that, in so advanced a season, it would be impossible for him to effectuate any thing against an enemy, who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. He hearkened therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place, near the two camps, was appointed for that purpose. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle: But Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission and respect to the lord lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning [g]. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions: And there appeared afterwards

[e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 430. Cox, p. 421. [f] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 112, 113. [g] Ibid. p. 125.

some

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that he had here commenced a very unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the enemy [h].

So unexpected an iſſue of an enterprize, the greateſt and moſt expenſive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely againſt Eſſex; and this diſguſt was much augmented by other circumſtances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peeviſh and impatient expreſſions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies ſhould be believed againſt him, and diſcovering ſymptoms of a mind, equally haughty and diſcontented. She took care to inform him of her diſſatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of maſter of the wards, an office to which he himſelf aſpired: And dreading, that, if he remained any longer abſent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he haſtily embraced a reſolution, which, he knew, had once ſucceeded with the earl of Leiceſter, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leiceſter, being informed, while in the Low Countries, that his miſtreſs was extremely diſpleaſed with his conduct, diſobeyed her orders by coming over into England; and having pacified her by his preſence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and inſinuation, diſappointed all the expectations of his enemies [i]. Eſſex, therefore, weighing more the ſimilarity of circumſtances than the difference of character between himſelf and Leiceſter, immediately ſet out for England; and making ſpeedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the leaſt apprized of his intentions [k]. Though beſmeared with dirt and ſweat, he haſtened up

Returns to England.

[h] Winwood, vol. i. p. 307. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 514, 535, 537. [i] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 453. [k] Winwood, vol. i. p. 118.

ſtairs

CHAP. XLIV.

1599.

ſtairs to the preſence chamber, thence to the privy-chamber; nor ſtopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. He threw himſelf on his knees, kiſſed her hand, and had ſome private conference with her; where he was ſo graciouſly received, that, on his departure, he was heard to expreſs great ſatisfaction, and to thank God, that, though he had ſuffered much trouble and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home [1].

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the reſult of her ſurpriſe, and of the momentary ſatisfaction, which ſhe felt on the ſudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: After ſhe had leiſure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and ſhe thought it neceſſary, by ſome ſevere diſcipline, to ſubdue that haughty and imperious ſpirit, who, preſuming on her partiality and indulgence, had pretended to domineer in her councils, to engroſs all her favour, and to act, in the moſt important affairs, without regard to her orders and inſtructions. When Eſſex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, ſhe committed him to the cuſtody of the lord keeper Egerton, and held him ſequeſtered from all company, even from that of his counteſs, nor was ſo much as the intercourſe of letters permitted between them. Eſſex dropped many expreſſions of humiliation and ſorrow, none of reſentment; He profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the queen's will: Declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and buſineſs: But though he affected to be ſo entirely cured of his aſpiring ambition, the vexation of this diſ-

Is diſgraced.

[1] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 127.

appointment,

appointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty ſpirit, and he fell into a diſtemper, which ſeemed to put his life in hazard. CHAP. XLIV. 1599.

THE queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himſelf, that the purpoſe of her ſeverity was to correct, not to ruin him [m]; and when ſhe heard of his condition, ſhe was not a little alarmed with the danger. She ordered eight phyſicians of the beſt reputation and experience to conſult of his caſe; and being informed, that the iſſue was much to be apprehended, ſhe ſent Dr. James to him with ſome broth, and deſired that phyſician to deliver him a meſſage, which ſhe probably deemed of ſtill greater virtue; that, if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. The byſtanders, who carefully obſerved her countenance, remarked, that, in pronouncing theſe words, her eyes were ſuffuſed with tears [n].

WHEN theſe ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Eſſex were known, they gave a ſenſible alarm to the faction, which had declared their oppoſition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the moſt violent as well as the moſt ambitious of his enemies, was ſo affected with the appearance of that ſudden revolution, that he was ſeized with ſickneſs in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the ſame ſalve to his wound, and to ſend him a favourable meſſage, expreſſing her deſire of his recovery [o].

THE medicine, which the queen adminiſtered to theſe aſpiring rivals, was ſucceſsful with both; and Eſſex, being now allowed the company of his counteſs, and having entertained more promiſing hopes of his future fortunes, was ſo much reſtored in his health, as to be 1600.

[m] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444, 445. Sydney's Papers, vol. ii. p. 196.
[n] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 151. [o] Ibi. p. 139.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

thought paſt danger. A belief was infuſed into Elizabeth, that his diſtemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compaſſion [p]; and ſhe relapſed into her former rigour againſt him. He wrote her a letter, and ſent her a rich preſent on New-Year's day; as was uſual among the courtiers of that time: She read the letter, but rejected the preſent [q]. After ſome interval, however, of ſeverity, ſhe allowed him to retire to his own houſe: And though he remained ſtill under cuſtody, and was ſequeſtered from all company, he was ſo grateful for this mark of lenity, that he ſent her a letter of thanks on the occaſion. "This farther degree of goodneſs," ſaid he, "doth ſound in my ears, as if your majeſty ſpake theſe "words, *Die not, Eſſex; for though I puniſh thine offence, "and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be ſerved "again by thee.* My proſtrate ſoul makes this anſwer: *I "hope for that bleſſed day.* And in expectation of it, all my "afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and "chearfully borne by me [r]." The counteſs of Eſſex, daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, poſſeſſed, as well as her huſband, a refined taſte in literature; and the chief conſolation, which Eſſex enjoyed, during this period of anxiety and expectation, conſiſted in her company, and in reading with her thoſe inſtructive and entertaining authors, which, even during the time of his greateſt proſperity, he had never entirely neglected.

THERE were ſeveral incidents, which kept alive the queen's anger againſt Eſſex. Every account, which ſhe received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his miſconduct in that government, and of the inſignificant purpoſes, to which he had employed ſo much force and treaſure. Tyrone, ſo far from being quelled, had thought proper, in leſs than three months, to break

[p] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 153. [q] Ibid. p. 155, 156.
[r] Birch's Memoirs, p. 444.

the

the truce; and joining with O'Donel, and other rebels, had over-run almoſt the whole kingdom. He boaſted, that he was certain of receiving a ſupply of men, money, and arms from Spain: He pretended to be champion of the catholic religion: And he openly exulted in the preſent of a phœnix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII. in order to encourage him in the proſecution of ſo good a cauſe, had conſecrated, and had conferred upon him[s]. The queen, that ſhe might check his progreſs, returned to her former intention, of appointing Mountjoy lord-deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Eſſex, and deſired his return to the government of Ireland, did at firſt very earneſtly excuſe himſelf, on account of his bad ſtate of health, ſhe obliged him to accept of that employment. Mountjoy found the iſland almoſt in a deſperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was ſo little diſcouraged, that he immediately advanced againſt Tyrone in Ulſter. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief ſeat of the rebels: He fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Iriſh: He chaced them from the field, and obliged them to take ſhelter in the woods and moraſſes: He employed, with equal ſucceſs, Sir George Carew in Munſter: And by theſe promiſing ſucceſſes, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that country.

1600.

As the compariſon of Mountjoy's adminiſtration with that of Eſſex, contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, ſhe received additional diſguſt from the partiality of the people, who, prepoſſeſſed with an extravagant idea of Eſſex's merit, complained of the injuſtice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were ſecretly diſperſed againſt Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies: And his popularity, which was always great, ſeemed rather to be encreaſed than dimi-

[s] Camden, p. 617.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

niſhed by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to juſtify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expreſſed her intentions of having him tried in the Star-chamber for his offences: But her tenderneſs for him prevailed at laſt over her ſeverity; and ſhe was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cauſe againſt him, and treated him with the cruelty and inſolence, which that great lawyer uſually exerciſed againſt the unfortunate. He diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt colours, all the faults committed by Eſſex in his adminiſtration of Ireland: His making Southampton general of the horſe, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deſerting the enterprize againſt Tyrone, and marching to Leinſter and Munſter; his conferring knighthood on too many perſons; his ſecret conference with Tyrone; and his ſudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majeſty's commands. He alſo exaggerated the indignity of the conditions, which Tyrone had been allowed to propoſe; odious and abominable conditions, ſaid he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himſelf and every traitor in Ireland, and full reſtitution of lands and poſſeſſions to all of them [t]. The ſolicitor-general, Fleming, inſiſted upon the wretched ſituation, in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, ſon of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord keeper in the beginning of the preſent reign, cloſed the charge with diſplaying the undutiful expreſſions contained in ſome letters written by the earl.

Essex, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great ſubmiſſion and humility, all pretenſions to an apology [u]; and declared his reſolution never, on this or any other occaſion, to have any conteſt

[t] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449.

[u] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200.

with

with his ſovereign. He ſaid, that, having ſevered himſelf from the world, and abjured all ſentiments of ambition, he had no ſcruple to confeſs every failing or error, into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward ſorrow for his offences againſt her majeſty was ſo profound, that it exceeded all his outward croſſes and afflictions, nor did he retain any ſcruple of ſubmitting to a public confeſſion of whatever ſhe had been pleaſed to impute to him; that, in his acknowledgments, he retained only one reſerve, which he never would relinquiſh but with his life, the aſſertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earneſt deſire ever to perform to her majeſty the beſt ſervice which his poor abilities would permit; and that, if this ſentiment was allowed by the council, he willingly acquieſced in any condemnation or ſentence, which they could pronounce againſt him. This ſubmiſſion was uttered with ſo much eloquence, and in ſo pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience [x]. All the privy-counſellors, in giving their judgment, made no ſcruple of doing the earl juſtice, with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the ſentence pronounced by the lord keeper, (to which the council aſſented) was in theſe words. "If this cauſe," ſaid he, "had been "heard in the Star-Chamber, my ſentence muſt have "been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's "head in that court, together with perpetual confine-"ment in that priſon, which belongeth to a man of his "quality, the Tower. But ſince we are now in another "place, and in a courſe of favour, my cenſure is, that "the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a coun-"ſellor, nor that of earl marſhal of England, nor of

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

[x] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200, 201.

"maſter

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

"master of the ordnance; and to return to his own "house, there to continue a prisoner, till it shall please "her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sen- "tence [y]." The earl of Cumberland made a slight opposition to this sentence; and said, that, if he thought it would stand, he would have required a little longer time to deliberate; that he thought it somewhat severe; and that any commander in chief might easily incur a like penalty. But, however, added he, in confidence of her majesty's mercy, I agree with the rest. The earl of Worcester delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verses; importing, that, where the Gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuse for transgressions against the Divinity.

Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary: But notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profession. But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of queen's solicitor; and in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds [z]. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council, against so munificent a benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: But she was so well pleased with his behaviour,

[y] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454. Camden, p. 626, 627.
[z] Cabala, p. 78.

that

that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the nation of the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmness of character, more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex; and, in particular, painted out, in elaborate expression, the dutiful submission, which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself [a].

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

All the world, indeed, expected, that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit [b]; perhaps, as is usual in reconcilements founded on inclination, would acquire an additional ascendant over the queen, and after all his disgraces, would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope, when they saw, that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court [c], he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him. Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct, which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: He wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his usual chearfulness, till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment: And that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the

[a] Cabala, p. 83. [b] Winwood, vol. i. p. 254.
[c] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 462.

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

"field; let me eat graſs as an ox, and be wet with the "dew of heaven; till it ſhall pleaſe the queen to reſtore "me to my underſtanding." The queen was much pleaſed with theſe ſentiments, and replied, that ſhe heartily wiſhed his actions might correſpond with his expreſſions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting ſhe ſhould now make ſome experiment of his ſubmiſſion; that her father would never have pardoned ſo much obſtinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced ſuch good effects, ſhe ſhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiſtry [d].

THE earl of Eſſex poſſeſſed a monopoly of ſweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he conſidered this event as the critical circumſtance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinſtated in credit and authority [e]. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper ſomewhat haughty and ſevere; and being continually ſurrounded with Eſſex's enemies, means were found to perſuade her, that his lofty ſpirit was not yet ſufficiently ſubdued, and that he muſt undergo this farther trial, before he could again be ſafely received into favour. She therefore refuſed his demand; and even added, in a contemptuous ſtile, that an ungovernable beaſt muſt be ſtinted in his provender [f].

His intrigues.

THIS rigour, puſhed one ſtep too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the ſource of infinite ſorrow and vexation to the queen herſelf. Eſſex, who had with great difficulty ſo long ſubdued his proud ſpirit, and whoſe patience was now exhauſted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burſt at once all reſtraints of ſubmiſſion and of prudence, and determined to ſeek relief, by proceeding to the utmoſt extremities

[d] Camden, p. 628.
[e] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 472.
[f] Camden, p. 628.

againſt

againſt his enemies. Even during his greateſt favour he had ever been accuſtomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his ſovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was ſometimes ſucceſsful, he had imprudently imagined, that it was the only proper method of managing her [g]: But being now reduced to deſpair, he gave entire reins to his violent diſpoſition, and threw off all appearance of duty and reſpect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already poſſeſſed, he practiſed anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to encreaſe the general good-will by a hoſpitable manner of life, little ſuited to his ſituation and circumſtances. His former employments had given him great connections with men of the military profeſſion; and he now entertained, by additional careſſes and civilities, a friendſhip with all deſperate adventurers, whoſe attachment, he hoped, might, in his preſent views, prove ſerviceable to him. He ſecretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief truſt lay in the puritans, whom he openly careſſed, and whoſe manners he ſeemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect to reſort to Eſſex-houſe; he had daily prayers and ſermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend thoſe pious exerciſes. Such was the diſpoſition now beginning to prevail among the Engliſh, that, inſtead of feaſting and public ſpectacles, the methods anciently practiſed to gain the populace, nothing ſo effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public, as theſe fanatical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their ſermons the doctrine of reſiſtance to the civil magiſtrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for thoſe ſeditious projects, which Eſſex was ſecretly contriving [h].

CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

[g] Cabala, p. 79.

[h] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 463. Camden, p. 630.

CHAP. XLIV.

1600.

But the greateſt imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openneſs of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to ſucceed in ſuch difficult and dangerous enterprizes. He indulged himſelf in great liberties of ſpeech, and was even heard to ſay of the queen, that ſhe was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body [i]. Some court ladies, whoſe favours Eſſex had formerly neglected, carried her theſe ſtories, and incenſed her to a high degree againſt him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though ſhe was now approaching to her ſeventieth year, ſhe allowed her courtiers [k] and even foreign ambaſſadors [l], to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good ſenſe been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity [m].

There was alſo an expedient employed by Eſſex, which, if poſſible, was more provoking to the queen than thoſe ſarcaſms on her age and deformity; and that was, his ſecret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and ſucceſſor. That prince had this year very narrowly eſcaped a dangerous, though ill formed, conſpiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this diſagreeable circumſtance, that the obſtinate eccleſiaſtics perſiſted, in ſpite of the moſt inconteſtible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no ſuch conſpiracy. James, haraſſed with his turbulent and factious ſubjects, caſt a wiſhful eye to the ſucceſſion of England; and in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his deſire encreaſed of mounting that throne, on which, beſides acquiring a great addition of power and ſplendor, he hoped to govern a people, ſo much more

[i] Camden, p. 629. Oſborne, p. 397. Sir Walter Raleigh's Prerogative of parliament, p. 43.

[k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 442, 443.

[l] Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 171.

[m] See note [KK] at the end of the volume.

tractable

tractable and submissive. He negociated with all the courts of Europe, in order to ensure himself friends and partizans: He even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, he flattered the catholics with hopes, that, in the event of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than was at present indulged them. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of succession: He knew, that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, she never could bear the prospect of her own death without horror, and was determined still to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependance upon her.

Essex was descended by females from the royal family; and some of his sanguine partizans had been so imprudent as to mention his name among those of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he secretly sent into Scotland, to assure James, that, so far from entertaining such ambitious views, he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Essex intended to employ. Essex had communicated his scheme to Mountjoy, lord deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a person of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her successor[n]. And such was Essex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mountjoy not to desist from the

[n] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 471.

CHAP. XLIV.

project: But the deputy, who thought that ſuch violence, though it might be prudent, and even juſtifiable, when

1600. ſupported by a ſovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be raſh and criminal, if attempted by ſubjects, abſolutely refuſed his concurrence. The correſpondence, however, between Eſſex and the court of Scotland was ſtill conducted with great ſecrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, beſides conciliating the favour of James, repreſented all his own adverſaries as enemies to that prince's ſucceſſion, and as men entirely devoted to the intereſts of Spain, and partizans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

THE Infanta and the archduke, Albert, had made ſome advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was choſen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the Engliſh reſident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were ſent thither as ambaſſadors from England; and negociated with Zuniga, Carillo,

16th May. Richardot, and Verheiken, miniſters of Spain and the archduke: But the conferences were ſoon broken off, on account of a diſpute of ceremony. Among the European ſtates England had ever been allowed the precedency above Caſtile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms, of which the Spaniſh monarchy was compoſed; and Elizabeth inſiſted, that this ancient right was not loſt on account of the junction of theſe ſtates, and that that monarchy, in its preſent ſituation, though it ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in extent, as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and regular foundation of precedency among kingdoms as well as noble families. That ſhe might ſhew, however, a pacific diſpoſition, ſhe was content to yield to an equality; but the Spaniſh miniſters, as their country had always diſputed precedency even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in the conference,

rence, till their ſuperiority of rank was acknowledged [a]. During the preparations for this abortive negociation, the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurſt, treaſurer, and ſecretary Cecil, had diſcovered their inclination to peace; but as the Engliſh nation, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and ſanguine in their hopes of plunder and conqueſt, were in general averſe to that meaſure, it was eaſy for a perſon ſo popular as Eſſex, to infuſe into the multitude an opinion, that theſe miniſters had ſacrificed the intereſts of their country to Spain, and would even make no ſcruple of receiving a ſovereign from that hoſtile nation. CHAP. XLIV. 1600.

But Eſſex, not content with theſe arts for decrying his adverſaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them; chiefly inſtigated by Cuffe, his ſecretary, a man of a bold and arrogant ſpirit, who had acquired a great aſcendant over his patron. A ſelect council of malcontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-houſe, and were compoſed of Sir Charles Davers, to whom the houſe belonged, the earl of Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Eſſex, who boaſted, that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, at his devotion, and who truſted ſtill more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his aſſociates thoſe ſecret deſigns and reſolutions, with which his confidence in ſo powerful a party had inſpired him. Among other criminal projects, the reſult of blind rage and deſpair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and aſked their opinion whether he had beſt begin with ſeizing the palace or the Tower, or ſet out with making himſelf maſter at once of both places. The firſt enterprize being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was 1601.

[a] Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 186——226.

CHAP. XLIV.

1601. His insurrection.

agreed, that Sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace gates; that Davis should seize the hall, Davers, the guard-chamber, and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partizans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should with common consent settle a new plan of government [q].

7th Feb.

While these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sacville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but, in reality, with a view of discovering whether there was in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations, which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after, Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sacville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded, that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new and more severe confinement: He therefore excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition; and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to

[q] Camden, p. 630. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 464. State Trials, Bacon, vol. iv. p. 542, 543.

have a great attachment to the earl. Eſſex declared against the firſt expedient, and profeſſed himſelf determined to undergo any fate rather than ſubmit to live the life of a fugitive. To ſeize the palace ſeemed impracticable without more preparations; eſpecially as the queen ſeemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had uſed the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themſelves to the city; and while the prudence and feaſibility of this reſolution was under debate, a perſon arrived, who, as if he had received a commiſſion for that purpoſe, gave them aſſurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might ſecurely reſt any project on that foundation. The popularity of Eſſex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that, with no other aſſiſtance than the good will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wiſdom, ſupported by vigour, and concurring with the general ſentiments of the nation. The wild project of raiſing the city was immediately reſolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emiſſaries were diſpatched to all Eſſex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid ſchemes againſt his life, and entreating their preſence and aſſiſtance. CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

NEXT day, there appeared at Eſſex-houſe the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Eſſex informed them of the danger, to which, he pretended, the machinations of his enemies expoſed him. To ſome, he ſaid, that he would throw himſelf at the queen's feet, and crave her juſtice and protection: To others, he boaſted of his intereſt in the city, and affirmed, that, whatever might happen, this 8th Feb.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

this resource could never fail him. The queen was informed of these designs, by means of intelligence, conveyed, as is supposed, to Raleigh by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper, to Essex-house, with the earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their servants were excluded, except the purse-bearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude, who surrounded them, the earl, who found, that matters were past recal, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. He cried aloud, *For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life*; and then proceeded to the house of Smith the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them, that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing, that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house. He found the streets in his passage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of Sir John Levison. In his attempt to force his

his way, Tracy, a young gentleman, to whom he bore great friendſhip, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himſelf, attended by a few of his partizans (for the greateſt part began ſecretly to withdraw themſelves) retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Eſſex-houſe. He there found, that Gorges, whom he had ſent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counſellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to deſpair; and appeared determined, in proſecution of lord Sandys's advice, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and rather to periſh, like a brave man, with his ſword in his hand, than baſely by the hands of the executioner: But after ſome parley, and after demanding in vain, firſt hoſtages, then conditions, from the beſiegers, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; requeſting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing [q].

19th Feb. His trial.

THE queen, who, during all this commotion, had behaved with as great tranquillity and ſecurity, as if there had only paſſed a fray in the ſtreets, in which ſhe was nowiſe concerned [r], ſoon gave orders for the trial of the moſt conſiderable of the criminals. The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurſt acted as lord ſteward. The guilt of the priſoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, beſides the inſurrection known to every body, the treaſonable conferences at Drury-houſe were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: The confeſſions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwel, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. Eſſex's beſt

[q] Camden, p. 632.

[r] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469.

friends

CHAP. XLIV.

1601.

friends were ſcandalized at his aſſurance in inſiſting ſo poſitively on his innocence, and the goodneſs of his intentions; and ſtill more at his vindictive diſpoſition, in accuſing, without any appearance of reaſon, ſecretary Cecil as a partizan of the Infanta's title. The ſecretary, who had expected this charge, ſtepped into the court, and challenged Eſſex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous [s]. When ſentence was pronounced, Eſſex ſpoke like a man who had expected nothing but death: But he added, that he ſhould be ſorry, if he were repreſented to the queen as a perſon that deſpiſed her clemency; though he ſhould not, he believed, make any cringing ſubmiſſions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and ſubmiſſive: He entreated the good offices of the peers in ſo modeſt and becoming a manner, as excited compaſſion in every one.

THE moſt remarkable circumſtance in Eſſex's trial was Bacon's appearance againſt him. He was none of the crown lawyers; ſo was not obliged by his office to aſſiſt at this trial: Yet did he not ſcruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whoſe generoſity he had often experienced. He compared Eſſex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adverſaries, to that of Piſiſtratus, the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and making the people believe, that his enemies had committed that violence, obtained a guard for his perſon, by whoſe aſſiſtance he afterwards ſubdued the liberties of his country.

AFTER Eſſex had paſſed ſome days in the ſolitude and reflections of a priſon, his proud heart was at laſt ſubdued, not by the fear of death, but by the ſentiments of

[s] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 530.

religion;

religion; a principle, which he had before attempted to make the inſtrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and conſideration. His ſpiritual directors perſuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of Heaven, unleſs he made a full confeſſion of his diſloyalty; and he gave into the council an account of all his criminal deſigns, as well as of his correſpondence with the king of Scots. He ſpared not even his moſt intimate friends, ſuch as lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in theſe conſpiracies; and he ſought to pacify his preſent remorſe, by making ſuch atonements, as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blameable than thoſe attempts themſelves, which were the objects of his penitence [t]. Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man of merit, he accuſed of a correſpondence with the conſpirators; though it appears, that this gentleman had never aſſented to the propoſals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treaſon; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the ſtrongeſt reluctance [u]. Nevil was thrown into priſon, and underwent a ſevere perſecution: But as the queen found Mountjoy an able and ſucceſsful commander, ſhe continued him in his government, and ſacrificed her reſentment to the public ſervice.

ELIZABETH affected extremely the praiſe of clemency; and in every great example, which ſhe had made during her reign, ſhe had always appeared full of reluctance and heſitation: But the preſent ſituation of Eſſex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the moſt real agitation and irreſolution. She felt a perpetual combat between reſentment and inclination, pride and compaſſion, the care of her own ſafety and concern for her favourite; and her ſituation, during this interval, was

[t] Winwood, vol. i. p. 300.

[u] Ibid. vol. i. p. 302.

perhaps

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

perhaps more an object of pity, than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her, that he himself desired to die, and had assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived: It is likely, that this proof of penitence and of concern for her, would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all that fond affection, which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy, in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy and forgiveness; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered.

25th Feb. And execution.

The execution was private in the Tower, agreeably to his own request. He was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper sentiment, which he could indulge [x]. And the queen, no doubt, thought, that prudence required the removing of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, encreased much by this action the general hatred, under which he already laboured: It was thought, that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology, which he could make for so ungenerous a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animosity, with which he urged on

[x] Dr. Barlow's sermon on Essex's execution. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 534.

Essex's

Eſſex's fate, even when Cecil relented [y], were ſtill regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour. CHAP. XLIV.

1601.

THE earl of Eſſex was but thirty-four years of age, when his raſhneſs, imprudence, and violence brought him to this untimely end. We muſt here, as in many other inſtances, lament the inconſtancy of human nature, that a perſon endowed with ſo many noble virtues, generoſity, ſincerity, friendſhip, valour, eloquence, and induſtry, ſhould, in the later period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable paſſions, and involved, not only himſelf, but many of his friends, in utter ruin. The queen's tenderneſs and paſſion for him, as it was the cauſe of thoſe premature honours, which he attained, ſeems on the whole, the chief circumſtance, which brought on his ruin. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs, which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in ſo advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged, by an imprudent openneſs, of which he made profeſſion, to diſcover too eaſily thoſe ſentiments to her. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had ſtill made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he puſhed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the ſentiments of the woman were ever ſtrong in her, thoſe of the ſovereign had ſtill in the end appeared predominant.

SOME of Eſſex's aſſociates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davis were tried and condemned, and all of theſe, except Davis, were executed. The queen pardoned the reſt; being perſuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendſhip to that nobleman, and their care of his ſafety; and were ignorant of the more crimi-

[y] Murdin, p. 811.

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CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

nal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was ſpared with great difficulty; but he was detained in priſon during all the remainder of this reign.

THE king of Scots, apprehenſive leſt his correſpondence with Eſſex might have been diſcovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, ſent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloſs as ambaſſadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her eſcape from the late inſurrection and conſpiracy. They were alſo ordered to make ſecret enquiry, whether any meaſures had been taken by her for excluding him from the ſucceſſion, as well as to diſcover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counſellors, in caſe of the queen's demiſe [z]. They found the diſpoſitions of men as favourable as they could wiſh; and they even entered into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, whoſe influence, after the fall of Eſſex, was now uncontrouled [a], and who was reſolved, by this policy, to acquire, in time, the confidence of the ſucceſſor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: But he afterwards aſſerted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her, than this correſpondence; becauſe the king of Scots, ſecure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by thoſe connections with the Engliſh miniſtry, was the leſs likely to give any diſturbance to the preſent ſovereign. He alſo perſuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect, that time ſhould open to him the inheritance of the crown, without puſhing his friends on deſperate enterprizes, which would totally incapacitate them from ſerving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of diſpoſition, eaſily inclined him to embrace that reſolution [b]; and in this manner the minds of the Engliſh were

[z] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 510.
[a] Oſborne, p. 615.
[b] Spotſwood, p. 471, 472.

ſilently,

CHAP. XLIV.

1601.

ſilently, but univerſally diſpoſed to admit, without oppoſition, the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh line: The death of Eſſex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

THE king of France, who was little prepoſſeſſed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reaſons, was averſe to the union of England and Scotland [c], made his ambaſſador drop ſome hints to Cecil of Henry's willingneſs to concur in any meaſure for diſappointing the hopes of the Scottiſh monarch; but as Cecil ſhowed an entire diſapprobation of ſuch ſchemes, the court of France took no farther ſteps in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power, which could give much diſturbance to James's ſucceſſion, was induced to acquieſce in it [d]. Henry made a journey this ſummer to Calais; and the queen, hearing of his intentions, went to Dover, in hopes of having a perſonal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, ſhe moſt loved and moſt reſpected. The French king, who felt the ſame ſentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the propoſal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared neceſſary to lay aſide, by common conſent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote ſucceſſively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by Sir Robert Sydney; in which ſhe expreſſed a deſire of conferring, about a buſineſs of importance, with ſome miniſter in whom that prince repoſed entire confidence. The marqueſs of Roſni, the king's favourite and prime miniſter, came to Dover in diſguiſe; and the Memoirs of that able ſtateſman contain a full account of his converſation with Elizabeth. This princeſs had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing, in conjunction with Henry, a new ſyſtem in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new ſtates on the ruins of the houſe of Auſtria. She had even the

French affairs.

[c] Winwood, vol. i. p. 352. [d] Spotſwood, p. 471.

CHAP. XLIV.

1601. prudence to foreſee the perils, which might enſue from the aggrandizement of her ally; and ſhe propoſed to unite all the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier againſt the dangerous encreaſe of the French, as well as of the Spaniſh, monarchy. Henry had himſelf long meditated ſuch a project againſt the Auſtrian family; and Roſni could not forbear expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, when he found that Elizabeth, and his maſter, though they had never communicated their ſentiments on this ſubject, had not only entered into the ſame general views, but had alſo formed the ſame project for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a ſituation, which might enable Henry to begin that great enterprize; and Roſni ſatisfied the queen, that it would be neceſſary to poſtpone for ſome years their united attack on the houſe of Auſtria. He departed, filled with juſt admiration at the ſolidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatneſs of her mind; and he owns, that ſhe was entirely worthy of that high reputation, which ſhe enjoyed in Europe.

THE queen's magnanimity in forming ſuch extenſive projects was the more remarkable, as, beſides her having fallen ſo far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with ability and ſucceſs, were ſtill in diſorder, and made a great diverſion to her forces. The expence, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her miniſters, taking advantage of her diſpoſition to frugality, propoſed to her an expedient of ſaving, which, though ſhe at firſt diſapproved of it, ſhe was at laſt induced to embrace. It was repreſented to her, that the great ſums of money, remitted to Ireland for the pay of the Engliſh forces, came, by the neceſſary courſe of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all neceſſary ſupplies of arms

and

and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom and its want of every useful commodity, they could not otherwise find means to purchase. It was therefore proposed to her, that she should pay her forces in base money; and it was asserted, that, besides the great saving to the revenue, this species of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not pass in any foreign market. Some of her wiser counsellors maintained, that, if the pay of the soldiers were raised in proportion, the Irish rebels would necessarily reap the same benefit from the base money, which would always be taken at a rate suitable to its value; if the pay were not raised, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would soon find from experience, that they were defrauded in their income [e]. But Elizabeth, though she justly valued herself, on fixing the standard of the English coin, much debased by her predecessors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was seduced by the specious arguments employed by the lord treasurer on this occasion; and she coined a great quantity of base money, which he made use of in the pay of her forces in Ireland [f].

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

Mountjoy's success in Ireland.

MOUNTJOY, the deputy, was a man of ability; and foreseeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them instantly into the field, and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and by keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those inconveniencies, which were justly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Genises out of Lecale; he harassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions; and by destroying, every where, and during all seasons, the provisions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish with famine in the woods and

[e] Camden, p. 643.

[f] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 414.

CHAP. XLIV.

1601. moraſſes, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the ſame time, Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the caſtle of Derry, and put garriſons into Newton and Ainogh; and having ſeized the monaſtery of Donnegal near Baliſhannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it againſt the aſſaults of O'Donnel and the Iriſh. Nor was Sir George Carew idle in the province of Munſter. He ſeized the titular earl of Deſmond, and ſent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, priſoner to England. He arreſted many ſuſpected perſons, and took hoſtages from others. And having got a reinforcement of two thouſand men from England, he threw himſelf into Corke, which he ſupplied with arms and proviſions; and he put every thing in a condition for reſiſting the Spaniſh invaſion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger, to which the ſouthern provinces were expoſed, left the proſecution of the war againſt Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities; and he marched with his army into Munſter.

23d Sept. At laſt, the Spaniards, under Don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinſale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a ſmall garriſon of a hundred and fifty men, found himſelf obliged to abandon it on their appearance. Theſe invaders amounted to four thouſand men, and the Iriſh diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to join them, in order to free themſelves from the Engliſh government, with which they were extremely diſcontented. One chief ground of their complaint, was the introduction of trials by jury[z]; an inſtitution, abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the ſupport of that equity and liberty, for which the Engliſh laws are ſo juſtly celebrated. The Iriſh alſo bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the

[z] Camden, p. 644.

opinion

opinion that they themſelves were deſcended from that nation; and their attachment to the catholic religion proved a new cauſe of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila aſſumed the title of general *in the holy war for the preſervation of the faith* in Ireland; and he endeavoured to perſuade the people, that queen Elizabeth was, by ſeveral bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Iriſh from the dominion of the devil [h]. Mountjoy found it neceſſary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total inſurrection of the Iriſh; and having gathered together his forces, he formed the ſiege of Kinſale by land; while Sir Richard Leviſon, with a ſmall ſquadron, blockaded it by ſea. He had no ſooner begun his operations than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thouſand Spaniards under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo, who had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppoſe their progreſs. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel baron of Kelley, and other chieftains of the Iriſh, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinſale. The deputy, informed of their deſign by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being re-inforced by Leviſon with ſix hundred marines, he poſted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the paſſage of the enemy, leaving ſome cavalry to prevent a ſally from d'Aquila and the Spaniſh garriſon. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Iriſh and Spaniards, approached, he was ſurprized to find the Engliſh ſo well poſted, and ranged in ſuch good order; and he immediately ſounded a retreat: But the deputy gave orders to purſue him; and having thrown theſe advanced troops into diſorder, he followed

1601.

[h] Camden, p. 645.

CHAP. XLIV.

1601.

them to the main body, whom he alſo attacked, and put to flight, with the ſlaughter of twelve hundred men [i]. Ocampo was taken priſoner; Tyrone fled into Ulſter; Odonnel made his eſcape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himſelf reduced to the greateſt difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the deputy preſcribed to him: He ſurrendered Kinſale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other ſucceſſes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into diſmay, and gave a proſpect of the final reduction of Ireland.

THE Iriſh war, though ſucceſsful, was extremely burthenſome on the queen's revenue; and beſides the ſupplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very ſmall, but which they ever regarded as mighty conceſſions, ſhe had been obliged, notwithſtanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, ſuch as ſelling the royal demeſnes and crown jewels [k], and exacting loans from the people [l]; in order to ſupport this cauſe, ſo eſſential to the honour and intereſts of England. The neceſſity of her affairs obliged her again to ſummon a parliament; and it here appeared, that, though old age was advancing faſt upon her, though ſhe had loſt much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Eſſex, inſomuch that, when ſhe appeared in public, ſhe was not attended with the uſual acclamations [m], yet the powers of her prerogative, ſupported by her vigour, ſtill remained as high and uncontroulable as ever.

October 27. A parliament.

THE active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many perſons to diſtinguiſh themſelves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to

[i] Winwood, vol. i. p. 369. [k] D'Ewes, p. 629. [l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid. p. 602. Oſborne, p. 604.

their

their ſervices, had made uſe of an expedient, which had been employed by her predeceſſors, but which had never been carried to ſuch an extreme as under her adminiſtration. She granted her ſervants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and theſe patents they ſold to others, who were thereby enabled to raiſe commodities to what price they pleaſed, and who put invincible reſtraints upon all commerce, induſtry, and emulation in the arts. It is aſtoniſhing to conſider the number and importance of thoſe commodities, which were thus aſſigned over to patentees. Currants, ſalt, iron, powder, cards, calf-ſkins, fells, pouldavies, ox-ſhin-bones, train oil, liſts of cloth, pot-aſhes, annifeeds, vinegar, ſea-coals, ſteel, aquavitæ, bruſhes, pots, bottles, ſaltpetre, lead, accidences, oil, calamint-ſtone, oil of blubber, glaſſes, paper, ſtarch, tin, ſulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, tranſportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spaniſh wools, of Iriſh yarn: Theſe are but a part of the commodities, which had been appropriated to monopoliſts [n]. When this liſt was read over in the houſe, a member cried out, *Is not bread in the number?* *Bread*, ſaid every one with aſtoniſhment: *Yes, I aſſure you*, replied he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we ſhall have bread reduced to a mompoly before next parliament* [o]. Theſe monopoliſts were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that in ſome places they raiſed the price of ſalt, from ſixteenpence a buſhel, to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings [p]. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to ſecure themſelves againſt encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppreſs the people at pleaſure, and to exact money from ſuch as they thought proper to accuſe of

[n] D'Ewes, p. 648, 650, 652.

[o] Ibid. p. 648.

[p] Ibid. p. 647.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

interfering with their patent [q]. The patentees of salt-petre, having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havock they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected salt-petre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from those who desired to free themselves from this damage or trouble [r]. And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should remain for industry, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price, that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact.

THESE grievances, the most intolerable for the present, and the most pernicious in their consequences, that ever were known in any age or under any government, had been mentioned in the last parliament, and a petition had even been presented to the queen, complaining of the patents; but she still persisted in defending her monopolists against her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower house, abolishing all these monopolies; and as the former application had been unsuccessful, a law was insisted on as the only certain expedient for correcting these abuses: The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained, that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for success, if they did not make application, in the most humble and respectful manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. The topics, which were advanced in the house, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the most extraordinary to such as are prepossessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted, that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she

[q] D'Ewes, p. 644, 646, 652. [r] Ibid. p. 653.

might

might ſet at liberty what was reſtrained by ſtatute or otherwiſe, and by her prerogative ſhe might reſtrain what was otherwiſe at liberty [s]: That the royal prerogative was not to be canvaſſed nor diſputed nor examined [t]; and did not even admit of any limitation [u]. That abſolute princes, ſuch as the ſovereigns of England, were a ſpecies of divinity [x]. That it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or ſtatutes; ſince, by means of her diſpenſing power, ſhe could looſen herſelf at pleaſure [y]: And that even if a clauſe ſhould be annexed to a ſtatute, excluding her diſpenſing power, ſhe could firſt diſpenſe with that clauſe, and then with the ſtatute [z]. After all this diſcourſe, more worthy of a Turkiſh divan than of an Engliſh houſe of commons, according to our preſent idea of this aſſembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to ariſe, ſent for the ſpeaker, and deſired him to inform the houſe, that ſhe would immediately cancel the moſt grievous and oppreſſive of theſe patents [a].

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

THE houſe was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and admiration, and gratitude at this extraordinary inſtance of the queen's goodneſs and condeſcenſion. A member ſaid, with tears in his eyes, that, if a ſentence of everlaſting happineſs had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at preſent overwhelmed [b]. Another obſerved, that this meſſage from the ſacred perſon of the queen, was a kind of goſpel or glad-tidings, and ought to be received as ſuch, and be written in the tablets of their hearts [c]. And it was farther remarked, that, in the ſame manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, ſo the queen herſelf was the only agent in their preſent proſperity and

[s] D'Ewes, p. 644, 675. [t] Ibid. p. 644, 649. [u] Ibid. p. 646, 654. [x] Ibid. p. 649. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. p. 640, 646. [a] See note [LL] at the end of the volume.

[b] D'Ewes, p. 654. [c] Ibid. p. 656.

happineſs.

CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

happineſs [d]. The houſe voted, that the ſpeaker, with a committee, ſhould aſk permiſſion to wait on her majeſty, and return her thanks for her gracious conceſſions to her people.

When the ſpeaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themſelves on their knees; and remained in that poſture a conſiderable time, till ſhe thought proper to expreſs her deſire, that they ſhould riſe [e]. The ſpeaker diſplayed the gratitude of the commons; becauſe her ſacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her bleſſed hands ever ſtretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he ſaid, in all duty and thankfulneſs acknowledged, that, before they called, her *preventing grace*, and *all-deſerving goodneſs* watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could deſire, much leſs deſerve. He remarked, that the attribute which was moſt proper to God, to perform all he promiſeth, appertained alſo to her; and that ſhe was all truth, all conſtancy, and all goodneſs. And he concluded with theſe expreſſions, "Neither do we preſent our "thanks in words or any outward ſign, which can be "no ſufficient retribution for ſo great goodneſs; but in "all duty and thankfulneſs, proſtrate at your feet, we "preſent our moſt loyal and thankful hearts, even the "laſt drop of blood in our hearts, and the laſt ſpirit of "breath in our noſtrils, to be poured out, to be breathed "up, for your ſafety [f]." The queen heard very pati-

[d] D'Ewes, p. 657.

[e] We learn from Hentzner's Travels, that no-one ſpoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling; though now and then ſhe raiſed ſome with waving her hand. Nay, wherever ſhe turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her ſucceſſor firſt allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, ſo he relinquiſhed the appearance of deſpotiſm. Even when queen Elizabeth was abſent, thoſe who covered her table, though perſons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.

[f] D'Ewes, p. 658, 659.

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ently this ſpeech, in which ſhe was flattered in phraſes appropriated to the Supreme Being; and ſhe returned an anſwer, full of ſuch expreſſions of tenderneſs towards her people, as ought to have appeared fulſome after the late inſtances of rigour, which ſhe had employed, and from which nothing but neceſſity had made her depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding, in time, from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity, and preſerved the affections of her people. CHAP. XLIV. 1601.

THE commons granted her a ſupply quite unprecedented, of four ſubſidies and eight fifteenths; and they were ſo dutiful as to vote this ſupply before they received any ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of monopolies, which they juſtly conſidered as of the utmoſt conſequence to the intereſt and happineſs of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that conceſſion of keeping the ſupply in ſuſpence; ſo haughty was the queen's diſpoſition, that this appearance of conſtraint and jealouſy had been ſufficient to have produced a denial of all their requeſts, and to have forced her into ſome acts of authority ſtill more violent and arbitrary.

THE remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in ſo much trouble, by fomenting and aſſiſting the Iriſh rebellion, reſolved to give them employment at home; and ſhe fitted out a ſquadron of nine ſhips, under Sir Richard Leviſon, admiral, and Sir William Monſon, vice-admiral, whom ſhe ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. The admiral, with part of the ſquadron, met the galleons loaded with treaſure; but was not ſtrong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral alſo fell in with ſome rich ſhips; but they eſcaped for a like reaſon: And theſe two brave officers, 1602.

CHAP. XLIV.

that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitleſs, reſolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra in Portugal; where, they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was guarded by a caſtle: There were eleven gallies ſtationed in it: And the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thouſand men, appeared in arms on the ſhore: Yet, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the Engliſh ſquadron broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carrack to ſurrender [g]. They brought her home to England, and ſhe was valued at a million of ducats [h]. A ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards; and a ſupply ſtill more important to Elizabeth [i].

1602.

THE affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone, and the expulſion of the Spaniards, haſtened to a ſettlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into ſmall parties, and haraſſed the rebels on every ſide: He built Charlemount, and many other ſmall forts, which were impregnable to the Iriſh, and guarded all the important paſſes of the country: The activity of Sir Henry Docwray and Sir Arthur Chicheſter permitted no repoſe or ſecurity to the rebels: And many of the chieftains, after ſkulking, during ſome time, in woods and moraſſes, ſubmitted to mercy, and received ſuch conditions as the deputy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. Tyrone himſelf made application by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him, except he made an abſolute ſurrender of his

1603.

[g] Monſon, p. 181. [h] Camden, p. 647.

[i] This year the Spaniards begun the ſiege of Oſtend, which was bravely defended for five months by Sir Francis Vere. The States then relieved him, by ſending a new governor; and on the whole the ſiege laſted three years, and is computed to have coſt the lives of an hundred thouſand men.

life and fortune to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and poſture ſuitable to his preſent fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the moſt humble terms, he was committed to cuſtody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be diſpoſed of at the queen's pleaſure. CHAP. XLIV. 1603. Tyrone's ſubmiſſion.

BUT Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any ſatisfaction from this fortunate event: She had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her proſperous reign, were unable, in any degree, to alleviate or aſſuage. Some aſcribed this depreſſion of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom ſhe had always reſolved to bring to condign puniſhment for his treaſons, but who had made ſuch intereſt with the miniſters, as to extort a remiſſion from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection, by a diſcovery, which ſhe had made, of the correſpondence maintained in her court with her ſucceſſor the king of Scots, and by the neglect, to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, ſhe imagined herſelf to be expoſed. But there is another cauſe aſſigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by hiſtorians as romantic, but which late diſcoveries ſeem to have confirmed [k]: Some incidents happened, which revived her tenderneſs for Eſſex, and filled her with the deepeſt ſorrow for the conſent, which ſhe had unwarily given to his execution. Queen's ſickneſs.

THE earl of Eſſex, after his return from the fortunate expedition againſt Cadiz, obſerving the encreaſe of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occaſion to regret, that the neceſſity of her ſervice required him often to be abſent from her perſon, and expoſed him to all thoſe

k See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negociations, p. 206. And Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481, 505, 506, &c.

ill

CHAP. XLIV.

ill offices, which his enemies, more aſſiduous in their attendance, could employ againſt him. She was moved with this tender jealouſy; and making him the preſent of a ring, deſired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and aſſured him, that, into whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately, upon the ſight of it, recollect her former tenderneſs, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, reſerved this precious gift to the laſt extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he reſolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, the mortal enemy of Eſſex, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected, that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect of it to his invincible obſtinacy, was, after much delay, and many internal combats, puſhed by reſentment and policy to ſign the warrant for his execution. The counteſs of Nottingham falling into ſickneſs, and finding herſelf approach towards her end, was ſeized with remorſe for her conduct; and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal ſecret. The queen, aſtoniſhed with this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion: She ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but ſhe never could*, ſhe broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy. She rejected all conſolation: She even refuſed food and ſuſtenance: And throwing herſelf on the floor, ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life

1603.

and

and existence an insufferable burthen to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal: But sighs and groans were the chief vent, which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies, which they prescribed to her [1]. Her anxious mind, at last, had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, without farther struggle or convulsion, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

CHAP. XLIV. 1603.

And death. 24th March.

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history, who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there scarcely is any, whose reputation has been more certainly determined, by the unanimous consent of pos-

And character.

[1] Strype, vol. iv. N° 276.

terity.

CHAP. XLIV. 1603.

terity. The unuſual length of her adminiſtration, and the ſtrong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers ſomewhat of their panegyrics, have at laſt, in ſpite of political factions, and what is more, of religious animoſities, produced an uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her conſtancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, addreſs, are allowed to merit the higheſt praiſes, and appear not to have been ſurpaſſed by any perſon that ever filled a throne: A conduct leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, more ſincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requiſite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, ſhe controuled all her more active and ſtronger qualities, and prevented them from running into exceſs: Her heroiſm was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendſhip from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: She guarded not herſelf with equal care or equal ſucceſs from leſſer infirmities; the rivalſhip of beauty, the deſire of admiration, the jealouſy of love, and the ſallies of anger.

HER ſingular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herſelf, ſhe ſoon obtained an uncontrouled aſcendant over her people; and while ſhe merited all their eſteem by her real virtues, ſhe alſo engaged their affection by her pretended ones. Few ſovereigns of England ſucceeded to the throne in more difficult circumſtances; and none ever conducted the government with ſuch uniform ſucceſs and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true ſecret for managing religious factions, ſhe preſerved her people, by her ſuperior prudence, from thoſe confuſions, in which theological controverſy had involved all the neighbouring

bouring nations: And though her enemies were the moſt powerful princes of Europe, the moſt active, the moſt enterpriſing, the leaſt ſcrupulous, ſhe was able by her vigour to make deep impreſſions on their ſtate: Her own greatneſs, meanwhile, remained untouched and unimpaired.

THE wiſe miniſters and brave warriors, who flouriſhed under her reign, ſhare the praiſe of her ſucceſs; but inſtead of leſſening the applauſe due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice; they were ſupported by her conſtancy; and with all their ability, they were never able to acquire any undue aſcendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, ſhe remained equally miſtreſs: The force of the tender paſſions was great over her, but the force of her mind was ſtill ſuperior; and the combat, which her victory apparently coſt her, ſerves only to diſplay the firmneſs of her reſolution, and the loftineſs of her ambitious ſentiments.

THE fame of this princeſs, though it has ſurmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies ſtill expoſed to another prejudice, which is more durable becauſe more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we ſurvey her, is capable either of exalting beyond meaſure, or diminiſhing the luſtre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the conſideration of her ſex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and conſider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority,

CHAP. XLIV. 1603.

rity, and entrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

# APPENDIX III.

*Government of England — Revenues — Commerce — Military force——Manufactures——Learning.*

THE party amongſt us, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long indulged their prejudices againſt the ſucceeding race of princes, by beſtowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wiſdom of Elizabeth. They have even been ſo extremely ignorant of the tranſactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality, which, of all others, ſhe was the leaſt poſſeſt of; a tender regard for the conſtitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is ſcarcely poſſible for the prepoſſeſſions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts ſo palpable and undeniable, there is danger leſt the public ſhould run into the oppoſite extreme, and ſhould entertain an averſion to the memory of a princeſs, who exerciſed the royal authority in a manner ſo contrary to all the ideas, which we at preſent entertain of a legal conſtitution. But Elizabeth only ſupported the prerogatives, tranſmitted to her by her immediate predeceſſors: She believed that her ſubjects were entitled to no more liberty than their anceſtors had enjoyed: She found that they entirely acquieſced in her arbitrary adminiſtration: And it was not natural for her to find fault with a form of government, by which ſhe herſelf was inveſted with ſuch unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power, the queſtion ought never to be forgot,

Appendix III. Government of England.

Appendix III.

*What is beſt?* But in the general diſtribution of power among the ſeveral members of a conſtitution, there can ſeldom be admitted any other queſtion, than *What is eſtabliſhed?* Few examples occur of princes, who have willingly reſigned their power: None of thoſe who have, without ſtruggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than eſtabliſhed practice be followed, factions and diſſentions muſt multiply without end: And though many conſtitutions, and none more than the Britiſh, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praiſe, beſtowed on thoſe patriots, to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with ſome reſerve, and ſurely without the leaſt rancour againſt thoſe who adhered to the ancient conſtitution [1].

In order to underſtand the ancient conſtitution of England, there is not a period which deſerves more to be ſtudied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princeſs were ſcarcely ever diſputed, and ſhe therefore employed them without ſcruple: Her imperious temper, a circumſtance in which ſhe went far beyond her ſucceſſors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and diſcovered the full extent of her authority: The great popularity, which ſhe enjoyed, proves, that ſhe did not infringe any eſtabliſhed liberties of the people: There remains evidence ſufficient to aſcertain the moſt noted acts of her adminiſtration: And though that

1 By the ancient conſtitution, is here meant that which prevailed before the ſettlement of our preſent plan of liberty. There was a more ancient conſtitution, where, though the people had perhaps leſs liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had alſo leſs authority: The power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exerciſed great tyranny over them. But there was ſtill a more ancient conſtitution, viz. that before the ſigning of the charters, where neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almoſt wholly in the king. The Engliſh conſtitution, like all others, has been in a ſtate of continual fluctuation.

evidence muſt be drawn from a ſource wide of the ordinary hiſtorians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and ſerves as a ſtronger proof, that the particular exertions of her power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, ſince they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people, in former reigns, ſeem rather to have been more ſubmiſſive than even during the age of Elizabeth [m]: It may not here be improper to recount ſome of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the ſources of that great power, which the Engliſh monarchs formerly enjoyed.

ONE of the moſt ancient and moſt eſtabliſhed inſtruments of power was the court of Star-chamber, which poſſeſſed an unlimited diſcretionary authority of fining, impriſoning, and inflicting corporal puniſhment, and whoſe juriſdiction extended to all ſorts of offences, contempts, and diſorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court conſiſted of the privy council and the judges; men, who all of them enjoyed their offices during pleaſure: And when the prince himſelf was preſent, he was the ſole judge, and all the others could only interpoſe with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government, to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty. For who durſt ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the crown and miniſtry, or aſpire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while expoſed to ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction? I much queſtion, whether any of the abſolute

[m] In a memorial of the ſtate of the realm, drawn by ſecretary Cecil, in 1569, there is this paſſage: "Then followeth the decay of obedience in "civil policy, which being compared with the fearfulneſs and reverence of "all inferior eſtates to their ſuperiors in times paſt, will aſtoniſh any wiſe and "conſiderate perſon, to behold the deſperation of reformation." Haynes, p. 586. Again, p. 588.

Appendix III.

monarchies in Europe contain, at preſent, ſo illegal and deſpotic a tribunal.

THE court of High Commiſſion was another juriſdiction ſtill more terrible; both becauſe the crime of hereſy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and becauſe its methods of inquiſition and of adminiſtering oaths, were more contrary to all the moſt ſimple ideas of juſtice and equity. The fines and impriſonments impoſed by this court were frequent: The deprivations and ſuſpenſions of the clergy for nonconformity were alſo numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the eccleſiaſtics of England [n]. The queen, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſaid expreſsly, that ſhe was reſolved, "That no man "ſhould be ſuffered to decline either on the left or on "the right hand, from the drawn line limited by autho-"rity, and by her laws and injunctions [o]."

BUT Martial Law went beyond even theſe two courts in a prompt and arbitrary and violent method of deciſion. Whenever there was any inſurrection or public diſorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exerciſed not only over the ſoldiers, but over the whole people: Any one might be puniſhed as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provoſt-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleaſed to ſuſpect. Lord Bacon ſays, that the trial at common law granted to the earl of Eſſex, and his fellow conſpirators, was a favour: For that the caſe would have born and required the ſeverity of martial law [p]. We have ſeen inſtances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Suſſex, after the ſup-

[n] Neal, vol. i. p. 479. [o] Murden, p. 183. [p] Vol. iv. p. 510.

preſſion of the northern rebellion, in which ſhe ſharply reproves him, becauſe ſhe had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law [q]: though it is probable, that near eight hundred perſons ſuffered, one way or other, on account of that ſlight inſurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exerciſe of this law to the times of civil war and diſorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion, or inſurrection, king Edward granted a commiſſion of martial law; and empowered the commiſſioners to execute it, *as ſhould be thought by their diſcretions moſt neceſſary* [r]. Queen Elizabeth too was not ſparing in the uſe of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet a puritan, being perſuaded that it was meritorious to kill ſuch as oppoſed the truth of the goſpel, ran into the ſtreets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous ſea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was ſo incenſed, that ſhe ordered him to be puniſhed inſtantly by martial law; but upon the remonſtrance of ſome prudent counſellors, who told her, that this law was uſually confined to turbulent times, ſhe recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law [s]. But ſhe continued not always ſo reſerved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which ſhe orders martial law to be uſed againſt all ſuch as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets from abroad [t]; and prohibits the queſtioning of the lieutenants or their deputies for their arbitrary puniſhment of ſuch offenders, *any law or ſtatute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding*. We have another act of hers ſtill more extraordinary. The ſtreets of London were much infeſted with idle vagabonds and riotous perſons: The lord mayor had endeavoured to repreſs

[q] MS. of Lord Royſton's from the Paper Office. Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 373, 458, 9.

[r] Strype's Eccleſ. vol. ii. p. 288.

[s] Camden, p. 446. Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

[t] Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

Appendix III.

this diſorder: The Star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted puniſhment on theſe rioters: But the queen finding thoſe remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commiſſion of provoſt-martial: "Granting him authority, and commanding him, upon ſignification given by the juſtices of peace in London or the neighbouring counties, of ſuch offenders, worthy to be ſpeedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the ſame perſons, and in the preſence of the ſaid juſtices, according to juſtice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to ſuch place where the ſaid rebellious and incorrigible offenders ſhall be found to have committed the ſaid great offences [v]." I ſuppoſe it would be difficult to produce an inſtance of ſuch an act of authority in any place nearer than Muſcovy. The patent of High Conſtable, granted to earl Rivers by Edward IV. proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force, during peace, as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament, in Edward VIth's reign, acknowledged the juriſdiction of the Conſtable and Marſhal's-court to be part of the law of the land [w].

THE Star-chamber, and High Commiſſion, and Court-martial, though arbitrary juriſdictions, had ſtill ſome pretence of a trial, at leaſt of a ſentence; but there was a grievous puniſhment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a ſecretary of ſtate, or of the privy-council [x]; and that was, impriſonment in any jail, and during any time that the miniſters ſhould think proper. In ſuſpicious times,

[v] Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 279. [w] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 20. See Sir John Davis's queſtion concerning impoſitions, p. 9. [x] In 1588, the lord mayor committed ſeveral citizens to priſon, becauſe they refuſed to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

all

all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

This practice was an indirect way of employing torture: But the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice [y], was frequently used, upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant from a secretary or the privy-council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture, whenever they thought proper [z]. There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story, told by lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: "The "queen was mightily incensed against Hayward, on ac- "count of a book he dedicated to lord Essex, being a "story of the first year of Henry IV. thinking it a sedi- "tious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness "and faction [a]: She said, she had an opinion that there "was treason in it, and asked me, If I could not find "any places in it, that might be drawn within the case "of treason? Whereto I answered, For treason, sure I "found none; but for felony, very many: And when "her majesty hastily asked me, Wherein? I told her, "the author had committed very apparent theft: For "he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Ta- "citus, and translated them into English, and put them "into his text. And another time, when the queen "could not be persuaded, that it was his writing whose

y Harrison, book ii. chap. 11. z Haynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211.

a To our apprehension, Hayward's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preserved the famous speech of the bishop of Carlisle, which contains, in the most express terms, the doctrine of passive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on this head.

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Appendix III.

"name was to it, but that it had ſome more miſchievous "author, and ſaid with great indignation, that ſhe "would have him racked to produce his author; I re- "plied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his "perſon, but rack his ſtyle: Let him have pen, ink, "and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to con- "tinue the ſtory where it breaketh off, and I will under- "take, by collating the ſtyles, to judge whether he were "the author or no [b]." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack, for a moſt innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Eſſex, at a time when this nobleman lay under diſgrace with her majeſty.

THE queen's menace, of trying and puniſhing Hayward for treaſon, could eaſily have been executed, let his book have been ever ſo innocent. While ſo many terrors hung over the people, no jury durſt have acquitted a man whom the court was reſolved to have condemned. The practice alſo, of not confronting witneſſes with the priſoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage againſt him. And, indeed, there ſcarcely occurs an inſtance, during all theſe reigns, that the ſovereign, or the miniſters, were ever diſappointed in the iſſue of a proſecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleaſure, never failed to ſecond all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common of fining, impriſoning, or otherwiſe puniſhing the jurors, merely at the diſcretion of the court, for finding their verdict contrary to the direction of theſe dependant judges; it is obvious, that juries were then no manner of ſecurity to the liberty of the ſubject.

[b] Cabala, p. 81.

THE

THE power of preſſing, both for ſea and land ſervice, and obliging any perſon to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Oſborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In caſe ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions," ſays he, "ſhe did ſeaſonably "prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or "putting him upon ſome ſervice at home, which ſhe "knew leaſt grateful to the people: Contrary to a falſe "maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by ſuch "princes as thought it better huſbandry to buy off enemies than reward friends [c]." The practice, with which Oſborne reproaches the two immediate ſucceſſors of Elizabeth, proceeded, partly from the extreme difficulty of their ſituation, partly from the greater lenity of their diſpoſition. The power of preſſing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abuſed, in other reſpects, by men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing perſons from the ſervice [d].

THE government of England during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this reſpect, ſome reſemblance to that of Turkey at preſent: The ſovereign poſſeſſed every power, except that of impoſing taxes: And in both countries this limitation, unſupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the Sultan to permit the extortion of the baſhas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards ſqueezes preſents or takes forfeitures: In England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for excluſive trade: An invention ſo pernicious, that, had ſhe gone on, during a track of years, at her own rate, England, the ſeat of riches, and arts,

[c] Page 392. [d] Murden, p. 181.

and

Appendix III.

and commerce, would have contained at preſent as little induſtry as Morocco, or the coaſt of Barbary.

We may further obſerve, that this valuable privilege, valuable only becauſe it proved afterwards the means by which the parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on, in an indirect manner, during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predeceſſors. She often exacted loans from her people; an arbitrary and unequal kind of impoſition, and which individuals felt ſeverely: For though the money had been regularly reſtored, which was ſeldom the caſe [e], it lay in the prince's hands without intereſt, which was a ſenſible loſs to the perſons from whom the money was borrowed [f].

There remains a propoſal made by lord Burleigh, for levying a general loan from the people, equivalent to a ſubſidy [g]; a ſcheme which would have laid the burthen more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation, impoſed without conſent of parliament. It is remarkable, that the ſcheme, thus propoſed, without any viſible neceſſity, by that wiſe miniſter, is the very ſame which Henry VIII. executed, and which Charles I. enraged by ill uſage from his parliament, and reduced to the greateſt difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great diſcontent of the nation.

The demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was ſo little conceived to be irregular, that the commons, in 1585, offered the queen a benevolence; which ſhe very

[e] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362. [f] In the ſecond of Richard II. it was enacted that in loans, which the king ſhall require of his ſubjects, upon letters of Privy Seal, ſuch as have *reaſonable* excuſe of not lending, may there be received without further ſummons, travel or grief. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 170. By this law, the king's prerogative of exacting loans was ratified; and what ought to be deemed a *reaſonable* excuſe was ſtill left in his own breaſt, to determine. [g] Haynes, p. 518, 519.

generouſly

generouſly refuſed, as having no occaſion, at that time, for money [h]. Queen Mary alſo, by an order of council, encreaſed the cuſtoms in ſome branches; and her ſiſter imitated the example [i]. There was a ſpecies of ſhip money impoſed at the time of the Spaniſh invaſion: The ſeveral ports were required to equip a certain number of veſſels at their own charge; and ſuch was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that ſome of the ports, particularly London, ſent double the number demanded of them [k]. When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the ſoldiers, to arm and cloath them, and carry them to the ſea-ports at their own charge. New Year's gifts were, at that time, expected from the nobility, and from the more conſiderable gentry [l].

PURVEYANCE and pre-emption were alſo methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppreſſive. The whole kingdom felt ſenſibly the burthen of thoſe impoſitions; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of theſe univerſities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the firſt years of her reign [m].

WARDSHIP was the moſt regular and legal of all theſe impoſitions by prerogative: Yet was it a great badge of ſlavery, and oppreſſive to all the conſiderable families. When an eſtate devolved to a female, the ſovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleaſed: Whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the eſtate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardſhip was a uſual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

[h] D'Ewes, p. 494. [i] Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362. [k] Monſon, p. 267. [l] Strype's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 137. [m] Camden, p. 388.

THE

Appendix III.

THE inventions were endleſs, which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined, that their property was ſecured by the crown's being debarred from impoſing taxes. Strype has preſerved a ſpeech of lord Burleigh to the queen and council, in which are contained ſome particulars not a little extraordinary [n]. Burleigh propoſes, that ſhe ſhould erect a court for the correction of all abuſes, and ſhould confer on the commiſſioners a general inquiſitorial power over the whole kingdom. He ſets before her eyes the example of her wiſe grandfather, Henry VII. who, by ſuch methods, augmented extremely his revenue; and he recommends, that this new court ſhould proceed, "as "well by the direction and ordinary courſe of the laws, "as by virtue of her majeſty's ſupreme regiment and "*abſolute power, from whence law proceeded.*" In a word, he expects from this inſtitution, greater acceſſion to the royal treaſure, than Henry VIII. derived from the abolition of the abbeys, and all the forfeitures of eccleſiaſtical revenues. This project of lord Burleigh needs not, I think, any comment. A form of government muſt be very arbitrary indeed, where a wiſe and good miniſter could make ſuch a propoſal to the ſovereign.

EMBARGOES on merchandize was another engine of royal power, by which the Engliſh princes were able to extort money from the people. We have ſeen inſtances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, iſſued an order to the cuſtom-houſe, prohibiting the ſale of all crimſon ſilks, which ſhould be imported, till the court were firſt provided [o]. She expected, no doubt, a a good penny-worth from the merchants, while they lay under this reſtraint.

[n] Annals, vol. iv. p. 234, & ſeq. [o] Strype, vol. i. p. 27.

THE

THE parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting ſubſidies; but this privilege was, during that age, ſtill more inſignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expreſsly prohibited them from meddling either with ſtate matters or eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and ſhe openly ſent the members to priſon, who dared to trangreſs her imperial edict in theſe particulars. There paſſed few ſeſſions of parliament, during her reign, where there occur not inſtances of this arbitrary conduct.

BUT the legiſlative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy; while the ſovereign was univerſally acknowledged to poſſeſs a diſpenſing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated, and rendered of no effect. The exerciſe of this power was alſo an indirect method practiſed for erecting monopolies. Where the ſtatutes laid any branch of manufacture under reſtrictions, the ſovereign, by exempting one perſon from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity [p]. There was no grievance, at that time, more univerſally complained of, than the frequent diſpenſing with the penal laws [q].

BUT in reality, the crown poſſeſſed the full legiſlative power, by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter, even of the greateſt importance, and which the Star-chamber took care to ſee more rigorouſly executed than the laws themſelves. The motives for theſe proclamations were ſometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the ſmell of woad; and ſhe iſſued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that uſeful plant [r]. She was alſo pleaſed to take offence at the long ſwords and high ruffs then in faſhion: She ſent about her officers, to break every man's ſword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a

[p] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 756. D'Ewes, p. 645. [q] Murden, p. 325. [r] Townſend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals.

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Appendix III.

certain length[r]. This practice resembles somewhat the method employed by the great Czar Peter, to make his subjects change their garb.

THE queen's prohibition of the *propheſyings* was founded on a better reaſon; but ſhews ſtill the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Four or five perſons could not meet together, in order to read the ſcriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever ſo orthodox a manner, without her permiſſion.

THERE were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permiſſion from the ſovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in priſon, becauſe he privately married the earl of Eſſex's couſin[s]. No man could travel without the conſent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a ſevere perſecution, becauſe he had preſumed to pay a private viſit to the king of Scots[t]. The ſovereign even aſſumed a ſupreme and uncontrouled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any perſon to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported, without his conſent[u].

THE parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praiſed her for not imitating the practice, uſual among her predeceſſors, of ſtopping the courſe of juſtice by particular warrants[w]. There could not poſſibly be a greater abuſe, nor a ſtronger mark of arbitrary power; and the queen, in refraining from it, was very laudable. But ſhe was by no means conſtant in this reſerve. There remain in the public records ſome warrants of her's for exempting perſons from all lawſuits and proſecutions[x]; and theſe war-

[r] Townſend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals. Strype, vol. ii. p. 603.
[s] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 422. [t] Ibid. p. 511.
[u] Sir John Davis's queſtion concerning impoſitions, paſſim.
[w] D'Ewes, p. 141. [x] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 652, 708, 777.

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rants, she says, she grants from her royal prerogative, which she will not allow to be disputed. Appendix III.

It was very usual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy-counsellors to commit to prison any one, who had happened to displease them, by suing for his just debts; and the unhappy person, though he gained his cause in the courts of justice, was commonly obliged to relinquish his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some likewise, who had been delivered from prison by the judges, were again committed to custody in secret places, without any possibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and serjeants of the courts of law were punished for executing the writs in favour of these persons. Nay, it was usual to send for people by pursuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commission; and they were brought up to London, and constrained by imprisonment, not only to withdraw their lawful suits, but also to pay the pursuivants great sums of money. The judges, in the 34th of the queen, complain to her majesty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable, that so egregious a tyranny was carried no further down than the reign of Elizabeth; since the parliament, who presented the petition of right, found no latter instances of it[y]. And even these very judges of Elizabeth, who thus protect the people against the tyranny of the great, expressly allow, that a person, committed by special command of the queen, is not bailable.

It is easy to imagine, that, in such a government, no justice could, by course of law, be obtained of the sovereign, unless he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition, undertaken by Raleigh and Frobisher against the Spaniards, in the year 1592, a very rich carrack

[y] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 511. Franklyn's Annals, p. 250, 251.

Appendix III.

was taken, worth two hundred thousand pounds. The queen's share in the adventure was only a tenth part; but as the prize was so great, and exceeded so much the expectation of all the adventurers, she was determined not to rest contented with her share. Raleigh humbly and earnestly begged her to accept of an hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and says, that the present, which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that ever prince received from a subject [z].

But it is no wonder the queen, in her administration, should pay so little regard to liberty; while the parliament itself, in enacting laws, was entirely negligent of it. The persecuting statutes, which they passed against papists and puritans, are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and by exposing such multitudes to the tyranny of priests and bigots, accustomed the people to the most disgraceful subjection. Their conferring an unlimited supremacy on the queen, or what is worse, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary servitude.

The law of the 23d of her reign, making seditious words against the queen capital, is also a very tyrannical statute; and an use, no less tyrannical, was sometimes made of it. The case of Udal, a puritanical clergyman, seems singular, even in those arbitrary times. This man had published a book, called a demonstration of discipline, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them, was really to

[z] Strype, vol. iv. p. 128, 129.

attack

attack her, and was therefore felony by the ſtatute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was expoſed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had writ the book, or not, without examining his intention, or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a ſingle witneſs to the court: They only read the teſtimony of two perſons abſent, one of whom ſaid, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had ſaid ſo. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which, they ſaid, was never to be permitted againſt the crown [a]. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depoſe, that he was not author of the book; and his refuſal to give that teſtimony was employed as the ſtrongeſt proof of his guilt. It is almoſt needleſs to add, that, notwithſtanding theſe multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury againſt Udal: For as the queen was extremely bent upon his proſecution, it was impoſſible he could eſcape [b]. He died in priſon, before execution of the ſentence. Appendix III.

THE caſe of Penry was, if poſſible, ſtill harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Browniſt; and he had written againſt the hierarchy ſeveral tracts, ſuch as Martin Marprelate, *Theſes Martinianæ*, and other compoſitions, full of low ſcurrility and petulant ſatire. After concealing himſelf for ſome years, he was ſeized; and as the ſtatute againſt ſeditious words required, that the criminal ſhould be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for ſome papers found in

a It was never fully eſtabliſhed, that the priſoner could legally produce evidence againſt the crown, till after the revolution. See Blackeſtone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 352. b State Trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Id. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

Appendix III.

his pocket, as if he had thereby ſcattered ſedition [c]. It was alſo imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that, in ſome of theſe papers, "he had only acknow-"ledged her majeſty's royal power to *eſtabliſh* laws, eccle-"ſiaſtical and civil; but had avoided the *uſual* terms of "*making*, *enacting*, *decreeing*, *and ordaining* laws: Which "imply," ſays the lord keeper, "a moſt abſolute au-"thority [d]." Penry for theſe offences was condemned and executed.

THUS we have ſeen, that *the moſt abſolute* authority of the ſovereign, to make uſe of the lord keeper's expreſſion, was eſtabliſhed on above twenty branches of prerogative, which are now aboliſhed, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the ſubject. But what enſured more effectually the ſlavery of the people, than even theſe branches of prerogative, was, the eſtabliſhed principles of the times, which attributed to the prince ſuch an unlimited and indefeizable power, as was ſuppoſed to be the origin of all law, and could be bounded and circumſcribed by none. The homilies, publiſhed for the uſe of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited paſſive-obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, is it ever lawful for ſubjects, in the ſmalleſt article, to depart from or infringe. Much noiſe has been made, becauſe ſome court chaplains, during the ſucceeding reigns, were permitted to preach ſuch doctrines; but there is a great difference between theſe ſermons, and diſcourſes publiſhed by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation [e]. So thoroughly were theſe principles imbibed by the people,

[c] Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

[d] Strype, vol. iv. p. 17. [e] Gifford, a clergyman, was ſuſpended in the year 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magiſtrate. Neal, vol. i. p. 435.

during

during the reigns of Elizabeth and her immediate predeceſſors, that oppoſition to them was regarded as the moſt flagrant ſedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praiſe and approbation, which can alone ſupport men under ſuch dangers and difficulties, as attend the reſiſtance of tyrannical authority [f]. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and ſpreading themſelves, under the ſhelter of puritanical abſurdities, became faſhionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage, uſually aſcribed to abſolute monarchy, a greater regularity of police and a more ſtrict execution of the laws, did not attend the former Engliſh government, though in many reſpects it fell under that denomination. A demonſtration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper, which is preſerved by Strype [g], and which was writ by an eminent juſtice of peace of Somerſetſhire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princeſs may be ſuppoſed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the diſorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerſet. The author ſays, that forty perſons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-ſeven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three diſcharged: That thoſe who were diſcharged were moſt wicked and deſperate perſons,

[f] It is remarkable, that in all the hiſtorical plays of Shakeſpear, where the manners and characters, and even the tranſactions of the ſeveral reigns are ſo exactly copied, there is ſcarcely any mention of *civil Liberty*; which ſome pretended hiſtorians have imagined to be the object of all the ancient quarrels, inſurrections, and civil wars. I cannot alſo forbear remarking, that Camden, in his accurate deſcription of Britain, never takes care to obſerve the boroughs that ſend members to parliament, that circumſtance which to us would appear the moſt material.

[g] Annals, vol. iv. p. 290.

Appendix III.

who never could come to any good, becauſe they would not work, and none would take them into ſervice: That notwithſtanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number eſcaped cenſure, either from the ſuperior cunning of the felons, the remiſſneſs of the magiſtrates, or the fooliſh lenity of the people: That the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch over their ſheep-folds, their paſtures, their woods, and their corn-fields: That the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somerſetſhire; and many of them were even in a worſe: That there were at leaſt three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who ſometimes met in troops to the number of ſixty, and committed ſpoil on the inhabitants: That if all the felons of this kind were aſſembled, they would be able, if reduced to good ſubjection, to give the greateſt enemy her majeſty has a *ſtrong battle:* And that the magiſtrates themſelves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were examples of juſtices of peace, who, after giving ſentence againſt rogues, had interpoſed to ſtop the execution of their own ſentence, on account of the danger, which hung over them from the confederates of theſe felons.

In the year 1575, the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that, if the magiſtrates were not, for the future, more vigilant, ſhe would entruſt authority to indigent and needy perſons, who would find an intereſt in the more exact diſtribution of juſtice [h]. It appears, that ſhe was as good as her word. For in the year 1601, there were

[h] D'Ewes, p. 231.

great

great complaints made in parliament of the rapine of juſtices of peace; and a member ſaid, that this magiſtrate was an animal, who, for half a dozen of chickens, would diſpenſe with a dozen of penal ſtatutes [i]. It is not eaſy to account for this relaxation of government, and neglect of police, during a reign of ſo much vigour as that of Elizabeth. The ſmall revenue of the crown is the moſt likely cauſe that can be aſſigned. The queen had it not in her power to intereſt a great number in aſſiſting her to execute the laws [k].

On the whole, the Engliſh have no reaſon, from the example of their anceſtors, to be in love with the picture of abſolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince and his unbounded prerogatives, to that noble liberty, that ſweet equality, and that happy ſecurity, by which they are at preſent diſtinguiſhed above all nations in the univerſe. The utmoſt that can be ſaid in favour of the government of that age (and perhaps it may be ſaid with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exerciſed after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the adminiſtration; that the inſtances of a high exerted prerogative were not ſo frequent as to render property ſenſibly inſecure, or reduce the people to a total ſervitude; that the freedom from faction, the quickneſs of execution, and the promptitude of thoſe meaſures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made ſome compenſation for the want of a legal and determined liberty; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium, to which the people had been accuſtomed; and that this ſituation of England, though ſeemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from a deſpotic and eaſtern monarchy, than the preſent government

[i] D'Ewes, p. 661—664.

[k] See note [MM] at the end of the volume.

Appendix III.

of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceleſs, and diſarmed; and beſides, are not ſecured by any middle power, interpoſed between them and the monarch.

We ſhall cloſe the preſent appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England during this period.

Revenues.

Queen Elizabeth's œconomy was remarkable; and in ſome inſtances ſeemed to border on avarice. The ſmalleſt expence, if it could poſſibly be ſaved, appeared conſiderable in her eyes; and even the charge of an expreſs, during the moſt delicate tranſactions, was not below her notice [l]. She was alſo attentive to every profit; and embraced opportunities of gain, which may appear ſomewhat extraordinary. She kept, for inſtance, the ſee of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue [m]; and it was uſual with her, when ſhe promoted a biſhop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the ſee of ſome of its manors [n]. But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper appears from this circumſtance, that ſhe never amaſſed any treaſure; and even refuſed ſubſidies from the parliament, when ſhe had no preſent occaſion for them. Yet we muſt not conclude from this circumſtance, that her œconomy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: She loaded them with monopolies and excluſive patents, which are much more oppreſſive than the moſt heavy taxes, levied in an equal and regular manner. The real ſource of her frugal conduct was derived from her deſire of independency, and her care to preſerve her dignity, which would have been endangered, had ſhe reduced herſelf to the neceſſity of having frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies.

[l] Birch's Negot. p. 21, p. 215. [m] Strype, vol. iv. p. 351. [n] Ibid.

In

In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successful and necessary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes [o], than demand the most moderate supplies from the commons. As she lived unmarried and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expence of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves, on a sudden, reduced to the most extreme indigence.

The splendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except cloaths, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age [p]. The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds: And the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand [q]. Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins, was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums, which she had so generously advanced him, during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain, by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties, to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her [r]. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the

o Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151, 457, 525, 629. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363.

p D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed but 300,000 pounds. I own, that this last sum appears a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

q Winwood, vol. i, p. 29, 54.

r Ibid. p. 117, 395.

Appendix III.

years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, beside the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted her by parliament [s]. In the year 1599, she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland [t]. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that, in ten years, Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds [u]. She gave the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom [w]. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts, conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum, which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying during this reign; *The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly* [x].

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five hundred thousand pounds a-year [y]. In the year 1590, she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profits [z]. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caermarthen; and was opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: But the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great

[s] D'Ewes, p. 483. [t] Camden, p. 167. [u] Appendix to the earl of Essex's apology. [w] Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. [x] Nanton's Regalia, chap. 1.

[y] Franklyn in his annals, p. 9. says that the profit of the kingdom, besides Wards and the dutchy of Lancaster (*which amounted to about* 120,000 *pounds*) was 188,197 pounds: The crown lands seem to be comprehended in this computation.

[z] Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden is difficult or impossible to be reconciled to the state of the customs in the beginning of the subsequent reign, as they appear in the Journals of the commons. See Hist. of James, chap. 46.

undertakings, which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. I pretend not to determine exactly the amount of these supplies; because the value of a subsidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds [a], though in the beginning it had been a hundred and twenty thousand. If we suppose, that the supplies, granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years, amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth [b]. This sum makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a year; and it is surprising, that, while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expences so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a supply from parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown-lands. But such was the extreme, I had almost said, absurd parsimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in comparison of their money: The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea, which they conceived of the trust committed to them, was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom summoning parliaments [c]. No redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies: They were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

Appendix III.

[a] D'Ewes, p. 630.

[b] Lord Salisbury computed them at two millions eight hundred thousand pounds. Journ. 17 February, 1609. King James was certainly mistaken when he estimated the queen's supplies at 135,000 pounds a-year. Franklyn, p. 49.

[c] Strype, vol. iv. p. 124.

BEFORE

Appendix III.

BEFORE the reign of Elizabeth, the Engliſh princes had uſually recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was ſo low, that, beſides paying the high intereſt of ten or twelve per cent, they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, that great and enterprizing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly paid, her credit by degrees eſtabliſhed itſelf in the city, and ſhe ſhook off this dependance on foreigners [d].

IN the year 1559, however, the queen employed Greſham to borrow for her two hundred thouſand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debaſed [e]. She was ſo impolitic as to make, herſelf, an innovation in the coin; by dividing a pound of ſilver into ſixty-two ſhillings, inſtead of ſixty, the former ſtandard. This is the laſt time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

Commerce.

QUEEN Elizabeth, ſenſible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was deſirous to encourage commerce and navigation: But as her monopolies tended to extinguiſh all domeſtic induſtry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to ſerve the purpoſe at which ſhe aimed, much leſs to promote the riches of her people. The excluſive companies alſo were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the ſpirit of the age was ſtrongly bent on naval enterprizes; and beſides the military expeditions againſt the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new diſcoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened

[d] Stowe's Survey of London, book i. p. 286. [e] MS. of lord Royſton's from the paper office, p. 295.

by

by the Engliſh. Sir Martin Frobiſher undertook three fruitleſs voyages to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage: Davis, not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, made a new attempt, when he diſcovered the ſtraits, which paſs by his name. In the year 1600, the Queen granted the firſt patent to the Eaſt-India company: The ſtock of that company was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; and they fitted out four ſhips, under the command of James Lancaſter, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was ſucceſsful; and the ſhips, returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue that commerce. Appendix III.

THE communication with Muſcovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the diſcovery of the paſſage to Archangel: But the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar an excluſive patent to the Engliſh for the whole trade of Muſcovy [f]; and ſhe entered into a perſonal, as well as national, alliance with him. This czar was named John Baſilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually ſuſpecting the revolt of his ſubjects, ſtipulated to have a ſafe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to enſure himſelf of this reſource, he propoſed to marry an Engliſh woman; and the queen intended to have ſent him lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon: But when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, ſhe wiſely declined purchaſing an empire at the expence of her eaſe and ſafety [g].

THE Engliſh, encouraged by the privileges, which they had obtained from Baſilides, ventured farther into theſe countries, than any Europeans had formerly done. They tranſported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the ſtream as far as Walogda. From thence,

[f] Camden, p. 428. [g] Ibid. p. 493.

they

Appendix III.

they carried their commodities ſeven days journey by land to Yeraſlau, and then down the Volga to Aſtracan. At Aſtracan, they built ſhips, croſſed the Caſpian Sea, and diſtributed their manufactures into Perſia. But this bold attempt met with ſuch diſcouragements, that it was never renewed [h].

After the death of John Baſilides, his ſon Theodore revoked the patent, which the Engliſh enjoyed for a monopoly of the Ruſſian trade: When the queen remonſtrated againſt this innovation, he told her miniſters, that princes muſt carry an indifferent hand, as well between their ſubjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which, by the laws of nations, ought to be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few [i]. So much juſter notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian, than were practiſed by the renowned queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued ſome privileges to the Engliſh, on account of their being the diſcoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand ſignior had always conceived England to be a dependant province of France [k]; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the Engliſh, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

The merchants of the Hanſe-towns complained loudly in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign of the treatment, which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that, as ſhe would not innovate any thing, ſhe would ſtill protect them in the

[h] Camden, p. 418. [i] Ibid. p. 493. [k] Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 36.

immunities

immunities and privileges, of which ſhe found them poſ- Appendix III.
ſeſſed. This anſwer not contenting them, their commerce was ſoon after ſuſpended for a time, to the great advantage of the Engliſh merchants, who tried what they could themſelves effectuate for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and their returns proving ſucceſsful, they divided themſelves into ſtaplers and merchant adventurers; the former reſiding conſtantly at one place, the other trying their fortunes in other towns and ſtates abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This ſucceſs ſo enraged the Hanſe-towns, that they tried all the methods, which a diſcontented people could deviſe, to draw upon the Engliſh merchants the ill opinion of other nations and ſtates. They prevailed ſo far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the Engliſh were prohibited all commerce in the empire: The queen, by way of retaliation, retained ſixty of their ſhips, which had been ſeized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as deſiring to have compromiſed all differences with thoſe trading cities; but when ſhe was informed, that a general aſſembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and cargoes to be confiſcated: Only two of them were releaſed to carry home the news, and to inform theſe ſtates, that ſhe had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings [1].

Henry VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ſhips from Hamburg, Lubec, Dantzick, Genoa, and Venice: But Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building ſome ſhips of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading veſſels, which, on occaſion, were converted

[1] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 470.

into

Appendix III.

into ſhips of war [m]. In the year 1582, the ſeamen in England were computed at fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five men [n]; the number of veſſels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons. Monſon pretends, that though navigation decayed in the firſt years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms [o], yet before the year 1640, this number of ſeamen was trebled in England [p].

Military force.

THE navy, which the queen left at her deceaſe, appears conſiderable, when we reflect only on the number of veſſels, which were forty-two: But when we conſider that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four [q]; we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the Engliſh navy, compared to the force which it has now attained [r]. In the year 1588, there were not above five veſſels, fitted out by the noblemen and ſea-ports, which exceeded two hundred tons [s].

IN the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invaſion from the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppoſe them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this ſudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thouſand nine hundred and twenty-nine [t]. A

[m] Camden, p. 388. [n] Monſon, p. 256. [o] Ibid. p. 300. [p] Ibid. p. 210, 256. [q] Monſon, p. 196. The Engliſh navy at preſent carries about 14,000 guns. [r] See note [NN] at the end of the volume. [s] Monſon, p. 300. [t] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 432.

diſtribution

distribution was made, in the year 1595, of a hundred and forty thousand men, besides those which Wales could supply [u]. These armies were formidable by their numbers; but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over, and plundered the east coast: So unfit was the militia, as it was then constituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were first appointed to the counties in this reign. Appendix III.

Mr. Murden [w] has published a paper, which contains the military force of the nation at the time of the Spanish Armada, and which is somewhat different from the account given by our ordinary historians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and thirteen; those armed, to eighty thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; of whom forty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven were trained. It must be supposed that these able-bodied men consisted of such only as were registered, otherwise the small number is not to be accounted for. Yet Sir Edward Coke [x] said in the house of commons, that he was employed about the same time, together with Popham, chief justice, to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be 900,000 of all sorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, supposes, that there were above 200,000 men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is surprizingly small. Can we suppose that the kingdom is six or seven times more populous at present? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding catholics and infirm persons?

Harrison says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to

[u] Strype, vol. iv. p. 221.
[w] p. 608.
[x] Journ. 25 April, 1621.

Appendix III.

1,172,674; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction is there in all these accounts. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: A vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

WHATEVER opinion we may form of the comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed, that there is a prodigious encrease of power, in that, more perhaps than in any other European state, since the beginning of the last century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could at present exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Harry V; when the maintainance of a garrison in a small town, like Calais, formed more than a third of the ordinary national expence. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government!

THE state of the English manufactures was at this time very low; and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference [y]. About the year 1590, there were in London four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds [z]. This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567, there were found on enquiry to be four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London: Of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots [a]. The persecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England;

y D'Ewes, p. 505. z Id. p. 497. a Haynes, p. 461, 462.

and the commerce, as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them [b]. It was then that Sir Thomas Greſham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: The queen viſited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange. Appendix III.

By a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word, uſury, which formerly meant the taking of any intereſt for money, came now to expreſs only the taking of exorbitant and illegal intereſt. An act, paſſed in 1571, condemns violently all uſury; but permits ten per cent. intereſt to be payed. Henry IV. of France reduced intereſt to 6½ per cent: An indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howel ſays [c] that queen Elizabeth in the third year of her reign was preſented with a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings by her ſilkwoman, and never wore cloth hoſe any more. The author of the preſent State of England, ſays that about 1577, pocket watches were firſt brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the uſe of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel [d]. Before that time, the queen, on public occaſions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden ſays, that in 1581, Randolph, ſo much employed by the queen in foreign embaſſies, poſſeſſed the office of chief poſt-maſter of England. It appears, therefore, that poſts were then eſtabliſhed; though from Charles I.'s regulations in 1635, it would ſeem, that few poſt-houſes were erected before that time.

In a remonſtrance of the Hanſe Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported

[b] Stowe, p. 668. [c] Hiſtory of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.
[d] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 421.

Appendix III.

annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth [e]. This number ſeems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the firſt law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar obſervation, that the country was depopulating from the encreaſe of incloſures and decay of tillage; and he aſcribes the reaſon very juſtly to the reſtraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of paſturage, ſuch as wool, hydes, leather, tallow, &c. Theſe prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good ſucceſs. From the ſame author we learn, that the complaints, renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing [f]. There ſeems, indeed, to have been two periods, in which prices roſe remarkably in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the preſent age. Between the two, there ſeems to have been a ſtagnation. It would appear that induſtry, during that intermediate period, encreaſed as faſt as gold and ſilver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

There were two attempts made in this reign to ſettle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in

e Anderſon, vol. i. p. 424.

f A compendious or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen. The author ſays, that in 20 or 30 years before 1581, commodities had in general riſen 50 per cent; ſome more. Cannot you, neighbour, remember, ſays he, that, within theſe 30 years, I could in this town buy the beſt pig or gooſe I could lay my hands on for four-pence, which now coſteth twelve-pence, a good capon for three pence, or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence, p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a day, p. 31.

Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: But neither of these projects proved successful. All those noble settlements were made in the following reigns. The current money of the kingdom, in the end of this reign, is computed at four millions [g].

Appendix III.

The earl of Leicester desired Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a riding master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a-year, beside maintaining himself and servant and a couple of horses. "I know," adds the earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages "in France: But let him consider, that a shilling in "England goes as far as two shillings in France [h]." It is known that every thing is much changed since that time.

The nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expences in this last particular [i]. The expence of hospitality, she somewhat encouraged, by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the magnificent feasts, which she received from them [k]. The earl of Leicester gave her an enter-

Manners.

[g] Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475. [h] Digges's compleat Ambassador. [i] Strype, vol. iii. Append. p. 54.

[k] Harrison, after enumerating the queen's palaces, adds: "But what "shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queen's "majesty hath? Sith all is hers; and when it pleaseth her in the summer "season to recreat herself abroad, and view the estate of the country, and "hear the complaints of her poor commons injured by her unjust officers or "their substitutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she conti-"nueth during pleasure, and till she return again to some of her own, in "which she remaineth, so long as she pleaseth." Book ii. chap. xv. Surely one may say of such a guest, what Cicero says to Atticus, on occasion of a visit payed him by Cæsar. Hospes tamen non is cui diceres, amabo te, eòdem ad me cum revertêre. Lib. xiii. Ep. 52. If she relieved the people from oppressions (to whom it seems the law could give no relief) her visits were a great oppression on the nobility.

Appendix III.

tainment in Kenilworth caſtle, which was extraordinary for expence and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told, that three hundred and ſixty-five hogſheads of beer were drank at it [l]. The earl had fortified this caſtle at great expence; and it contained arms for ten thouſand men [m]. The earl of Derby had a family conſiſting of two hundred and forty ſervants [n]. Stowe remarks it as a ſingular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary ſervices from them: A proof that the abſolute power of the ſovereign (what was almoſt unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyrannizing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal eſtate, kept a family conſiſting of a hundred ſervants [o]. He had a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of meaner condition, which were always ſerved alike, whether he was in town or in the country. About his perſon he had people of great diſtinction, inſomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers who had each a thouſand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary ſervants, who were worth from a thouſand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thouſand pounds [p]. It is to be remarked, that, though the revenues of the crown were at that time very ſmall, the miniſters and courtiers ſometimes found means, by employing the boundleſs prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is poſſible for them at preſent to amaſs, from their larger ſalaries, and more limited authority.

BURLEIGH entertained the queen twelve ſeveral times in his country houſe; where ſhe remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each viſit coſt him two or three

l Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1791. m Strype, vol. iii. p. 394.
n Stowe, p. 674. o Strype, vol. iii. p. 129. Append.
p Life of Burleigh publiſhed by Collins.

thouſand

thouſand pounds [q]. The quantity of ſilver plate poſſeſſed by this nobleman, is ſurprizing: No leſs than fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds weight [r]; which, beſides the faſhion, would be above forty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only 4000 pounds a-year in land, and eleven thouſand pounds in money; and as land was then commonly ſold at ten years purchaſe, his plate was nearly equal to all the reſt of his fortune. It appears, that little value was then put upon the faſhion of the plate, which probably was but rude: The weight was chiefly conſidered [s].

But though there were preſerved great remains of the ancient cuſtoms, the nobility were, by degrees, acquiring a taſte for elegant luxury; and many edifices, in particular, were built by them, neat, large, and ſumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, ſays Camden [t]; but to the no leſs decay of the glorious hoſpitality of the nation. It is, however, more reaſonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and induſtry; while the ancient hoſpitality was the ſource of vice, diſorder, ſedition, and idleneſs [u].

Among the other ſpecies of luxury, that of apparel began much to encreaſe during this age; and the queen thought proper to reſtrain it by proclamation [w]. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more deſirous of making impreſſion on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or ſtudied more the variety and richneſs of her

q Life of Burleigh publiſhed by Collins, p. 40.

r See note [OO] at the end of the volume.

s This appears from Burleigh's will: He ſpecifies only the number of ounces to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldſmith to ſee it weighed out to them, without making any diſtinction of the pieces.

t Page 452.

u See note [PP] at the end of the volume.

w Camden, p. 452.

Appendix III.

dreſſes. She appeared almoſt every day in a different habit; and tried all the ſeveral modes, by which ſhe hoped to render herſelf agreeable. She was alſo ſo fond of her cloaths, that ſhe never could part with any of them; and at her death ſhe had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thouſand, which ſhe had ever worn in her life-time [x].

THE retrenchment of the ancient hoſpitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the ſovereign; and by diſabling the great noblemen from reſiſtance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of juſtice. There were many peculiar cauſes in the ſituation and character of Henry VII. which augmented the authority of the crown: Moſt of theſe cauſes concurred in ſucceeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquiſition of the ſupremacy, a moſt important article of prerogative: But the manners of the age were a general cauſe, which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminiſh the riches, and ſtill more the influence, of the ariſtocracy, anciently ſo formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury diſſipated the immenſe fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expence gave ſubſiſtance to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independant manner on the fruits of their own induſtry, a nobleman, inſtead of that unlimited aſcendant, which he was wont to aſſume over thoſe who were maintained at his board, or ſubſiſted by ſalaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence, which cuſtomers have over tradeſmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors alſo, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the beſt account with regard to profit,

[x] Carte, vol. iii. p. 702. from Beaumont's Diſpatches.

and

and either incloſing their fields, or joining many ſmall farms into a few large ones, diſmiſſed thoſe uſeleſs hands, which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to ſubvert the government, or oppoſe a neighbouring baron. By all theſe means the cities encreaſed; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who, in effect, was the ſame with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the farther progreſs of the ſame cauſes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the riſe of this order, the ſovereign took advantage of the preſent ſituation, and aſſumed an authority almoſt abſolute.

WHATEVER may be commonly imagined, from the authority of lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolutions, which happened about this period in the Engliſh conſtitution. The practice of breaking entails, by a fine and recovery, had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal ſanction to the practice, by reforming ſome abuſes which attended it. But the ſettled authority, which he acquired to the crown, enabled the ſovereign to encroach on the ſeparate juriſdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the ſame fate as the feudal powers; and by a ſtatute of Henry VIII [y], the juriſdiction of theſe counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cauſe of the ſecret revolution of the government, and ſubverted the power of the barons. There appear ſtill in this reign ſome remains of the ancient ſlavery of the boors and peaſants [z], but none afterwards.

[y] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24.

[z] Rymer, tom. xv. p. 731.

LEARNING,

Appendix III.

Learning.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in high eſtimation by the Engliſh princes and nobles; and as it was not yet proſtituted by being too common, even the Great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on one account or other, be admitted into the claſs of authors. Queen Catherine Parr tranſlated a book: Lady Jane Gray, conſidering her age, and her ſex, and her ſtation, may be regarded as a prodigy for literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raiſed from being profeſſor in Cambridge, firſt to be ambaſſador to France, and then ſecretary of ſtate. The diſpatches of thoſe times, and among others thoſe of Burleigh himſelf, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin claſſics. Even the ladies of the court valued themſelves on knowledge: Lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two ſiſters, were miſtreſſes of the ancient, as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

QUEEN Elizabeth wrote and tranſlated ſeveral books; and ſhe was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue [a]. It is pretended, that ſhe made an extemporary reply in Greek to the univerſity of Cambridge, who had addreſſed her in that language. It is certain, that ſhe anſwered in Latin, without premeditation, and in a very ſpirited manner, to the Poliſh ambaſſador, who had been wanting in reſpect to her. When ſhe had finiſhed, ſhe turned about to her courtiers, and ſaid, "God's death, my lords," (for ſhe was much addicted to ſwearing) "I have been forced this day to ſcour up "my old Latin, that hath long lain ruſting [b]." Elizabeth, even after ſhe was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and next to her deſire of admiration for beauty, this ſeems to have been the

[a] See note [QQ] at the end of the volume. [b] Speed.

chief

chief object of her vanity. She tranſlated Boethius of the Conſolation of Philoſophy; in order, as ſhe pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compoſitions, we may pronounce, that, notwithſtanding her application, and her excellent parts, her taſte in literature was but indifferent: She was much inferior to her ſucceſſor in this particular, who was himſelf no perfect model of eloquence.

UNHAPPILY for literature, at leaſt for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in ſhining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spencer himſelf, the fineſt Engliſh writer of his age, was long neglected; and after the death of Sir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almoſt for want. This poet contains great beauties, a ſweet and harmonious verſification, eaſy elocution, a fine imagination: Yet does the peruſal of his work become ſo tedious, that one never finiſhes it from the mere pleaſure which it affords: It ſoon becomes a kind of taſk-reading; and it requires ſome effort and reſolution to carry us on to the end of his long performance. This effect, of which every one is conſcious, is uſually aſcribed to the change of manners: But manners have more changed ſince Homer's age; and yet that poet remains ſtill the favourite of every reader of taſte and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and intereſting picture: But the pencil of the Engliſh poet was employed in drawing the affectations, and conceits, and fopperies of chivalry, which appear ridiculous as ſoon as they loſe the recommendation of the mode. The tedioufneſs of continued allegory, and that too ſeldom ſtriking or ingenious, has alſo contributed to render the *Fairy Queen* peculiarly tireſome; not to mention the too great frequency of its deſcriptions, and the languor of its ſtanza. Upon the whole, Spencer maintains

Appendix III.

maintains his place in the ſhelves among our Engliſh claſſics: But he is ſeldom ſeen on the table; and there is ſcarcely any one, if he dares to be ingenuous, but will confeſs, that, notwithſtanding all the merit of the poet, he affords an entertainment with which the palate is ſoon ſatiated. Several writers of late have amuſed themſelves in copying the ſtile of Spencer; and no imitation has been ſo indifferent as not to bear a great reſemblance to the original: His manner is ſo peculiar, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to transfer ſome of it into the copy.

# NOTES

## TO THE

# FIFTH VOLUME.

### NOTE [A], p. 13.

THE parliament alſo granted the queen the duties of tonnage and poundage; but this conceſſion was at that time regarded only as a matter of form, and ſhe had levied theſe duties before they were voted by parliament: But there was another exertion of power, which ſhe practiſed, and which people, in this age, from their ignorance of ancient practices, may be apt to think a little extraordinary. Her ſiſter, after the commencement of the war with France, had, from her own authority, impoſed four marks on each ton of wine imported, and had encreaſed the poundage a third on all commodities. Queen Elizabeth continued theſe impoſitions as long as ſhe thought convenient. The parliament, who had ſo good an opportunity of reſtraining theſe arbitrary taxes, when they voted the tonnage and poundage, thought not proper to make any mention of them. They knew, that the ſovereign, during that age, pretended to have the ſole regulation of foreign trade, and that their intermeddling with that prerogative would have drawn on them the ſevereſt reproof, if not chaſtiſement. See Forbes, vol. i. p. 132, 133. We know certainly from the ſtatutes and journals, that no ſuch impoſitions were granted by parliament.

### NOTE [B], p. 26.

KNOX, p. 127. We ſhall ſuggeſt afterwards ſome reaſons to ſuſpect, that, perhaps, no expreſs promiſe was ever given. Calumnies eaſily ariſe during times of faction, eſpecially

eſpecially thoſe of the religious kind, when men think every art lawful for promoting their purpoſe. The congregation in their manifeſto, in which they enumerate all the articles of the regent's mal-adminiſtration, do not reproach her with this breach of promiſe. It was probably nothing but a rumour ſpread abroad to catch the populace. If the papiſts have ſometimes maintained, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, their adverſaries ſeem alſo to have thought, that no truth ought to be told of idolaters.

## NOTE [C], p. 30.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 146. Melvil, p. 29. Knox, p. 225, 228. Leſley, lib. x. That there was really no violation of the capitulation of Perth, appears from the manifeſto of the congregation in Knox, p. 184. in which it is not ſo much as pretended. The companies of Scotch ſoldiers were, probably, in Scotch pay, ſince the congregation complains, that the country was oppreſſed with taxes to maintain armies. Knox, p. 164, 165. And even if they had been in French pay, it had been no breach of the capitulation, ſince they were national troops, not French. Knox does not ſay, p. 139, that any of the inhabitants of Perth were tried or puniſhed for their paſt offences; but only that they were oppreſſed with the quartering of ſoldiers: And the congregation, in their manifeſto, ſay only that many of them had fled for fear. This plain detection of the calumny with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth, may make us ſuſpect a like calumny with regard to the pretended promiſe not to give ſentence againſt the miniſters. The affair lay altogether between the regent and the laird of Dun; and that gentleman, though a man of ſenſe and character, might be willing to take ſome general profeſſions for promiſes. If the queen, overawed by the power of the congregation, gave ſuch a promiſe in order to have liberty to proceed to a ſentence; How could ſhe expect to have power to execute a ſentence ſo inſidiouſly obtained? And to what purpoſe could it ſerve?

## NOTE [D], p. 31.

KNOX, p. 153, 154, 155. This author pretends that this article was agreed to verbally, but that the queen's ſcribes omitted it in the treaty which was ſigned. This ſtory is very unlikely, or rather very abſurd; and in the mean time it is allowed, that the article is not in the treaty: Nor do the congregation, in their ſubſequent manifeſto inſiſt upon it. Knox, p. 184. Beſides, Would the queen regent in an article of a treaty, call her own religion idolatry?

## NOTE [E], p. 33.

THE Scotch lords in their declaration ſay, "How far "we have ſought ſupport of England, or of any other "prince, and what juſt cauſe we had and have ſo to do, we "ſhall ſhortly make manifeſt unto the world, to the praiſe of "God's holy name, and to the confuſion of all thoſe that "ſlander us for ſo doing: For this we fear not to confeſs, "that, as in this enterprize againſt the devil, againſt idolatry "and the maintainers of the ſame, we chiefly and only ſeek "God's glory to be notified unto men, ſin to be puniſhed, "and virtue to be maintained; ſo where power faileth of our-"ſelves, we will ſeek it, whereſoever God ſhall offer the "ſame." Knox, p. 176.

## NOTE [F], p. 80.

THIS year the council of Trent was diſſolved, which had ſat from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited anew the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the proteſtants rejected them. The religious controverſies were too far advanced to expect that any conviction would reſult from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned and inquiſitive; and as the hiſtory of it has been written with great penetration and judgment, it has tended very much to expoſe clerical uſurpations and intrigues, and may ſerve us as a ſpecimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to ſee another general council,

council, till the decay of learning and the progreſs of ignorance ſhall again fit mankind for theſe great impoſtures.

## NOTE [G], p. 90.

IT appears, however, from Randolf's Letters, (See Keith, p. 290.) that ſome offers had been made to that miniſter, of ſeizing Lenox and Darnley, and delivering them into queen Elizabeth's hands. Melvil confirms the ſame ſtory, and ſays, that the deſign was acknowledged by the conſpirators, p. 56. This ſerves to juſtify the account given by the queen's party of the Raid of Baith, as it is called. See farther, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 358. The other conſpiracy, of which Murray complained, is much more uncertain, and is founded on very doubtful evidence.

## NOTE [H], p. 96.

BUCHANAN confeſſes that Rizzio was ugly; but it may be inferred, from the narration of that author, that he was young. He ſays, that on the return of the duke of Savoy to Turin, Rizzio was *in adoleſcentiæ vigore*; in the vigour of youth. Now that event happened only a few years before, lib. xvii. cap. 44. That Bothwel was young appears, among many other invincible proofs, from Mary's inſtructions to the biſhop of Dumblain, her ambaſſador at Paris; where ſhe ſays, that in 1559, only eight years before, he was *very young*. He might therefore have been about thirty when he married her. See Keith's Hiſtory, p. 388.

## NOTE [I], p. 110.

MARY herſelf confeſſed, in her inſtructions to the ambaſſadors, whom ſhe ſent to France, that Bothwel perſuaded all the noblemen, that their application in favour of his marriage was agreeable to her, Keith, p. 389. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 94. Murray afterwards produced to queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners a paper ſigned by Mary, by which ſhe permitted them to make this application to her. This permiſſion was a ſufficient declaration of her intentions, and was eſteemed equivalent to a command. Anderſon, vol. iv. p. 59. They even aſſerted, that the houſe, in which they met, was ſurrounded with armed men. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 141.

## NOTE [K], p. 141.

MARY's complaints of the queen's partiality in admitting Murray to a conference was a mere pretext in order to break off the conference. She indeed employs that reaſon in her order for that purpoſe (ſee Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184), but in her private letter, her commiſſioners are directed to make uſe of that order to prevent her honour from being attacked, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 183. It was therefore the accuſation only ſhe was afraid of. Murray was the leaſt obnoxious of all her enemies: He was abroad when her ſubjects rebelled and reduced her to captivity: He had only accepted of the regency, when voluntarily profered him by the nation. His being admitted to queen Elizabeth's preſence was therefore a very bad foundation for a quarrel, or for breaking off the conferences; and was plainly a mere pretence.

## NOTE [L], p. 143.

WE ſhall not enter into a long diſcuſſion concerning the authenticity of theſe letters: We ſhall only remark in general, that the chief objections againſt them are, that they are ſuppoſed to have paſſed through the earl of Morton's hands, the leaſt ſcrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are, to the laſt degree, indecent, and even ſomewhat inelegant, ſuch as it is not likely ſhe would write. But to theſe preſumptions we may oppoſe the following conſiderations. (1.) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a ſubſcription, it is very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to counterfeit ſeveral pages, ſo as to reſemble exactly the hand-writing of any perſon. Theſe letters were examined and compared with Mary's hand-writing, by the Engliſh privy-council, and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were ſeveral partizans of that princeſs. They might have been examined by the biſhop of Roſs, Herreis, and others of Mary's commiſſioners. The regent muſt have expected, that they would be very critically examined by them: And had they not been able to ſtand that teſt, he was only preparing a ſcene of confuſion to himſelf. Biſhop Leſly expreſsly declines the

comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof, Goodall, vol. ii. p. 389. (2.) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been, in order to ſerve the purpoſes of Mary's enemies; a circumſtance, which encreaſed the difficulty, and expoſed any forgery the more to the riſk of a detection. (3.) They are not ſo groſs and palpable, as forgeries commonly are; for they left ſtill a pretext for Mary's friends to aſſert, that their meaning was ſtrained to make them appear criminal; ſee Goodall, vol. ii. p. 361. (4.) There is a long contract of marriage, ſaid to be written by the earl of Huntley, and ſigned by the queen, before Bothwell's acquital. Would Morton, without any neceſſity, have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery, and the danger of detection? (5.) The letters are indiſcreet; but ſuch was apparently Mary's conduct at that time: They are inelegant; but they have a careleſs, natural air, like letters haſtily written between familiar friends. (6.) They contain ſuch a variety of particular circumſtances, as nobody could have thought of inventing, eſpecially as they muſt neceſſarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7.) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French: We have only a Scotch and Latin tranſlation from the original, and a French tranſlation profeſſedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable, that the Scotch tranſlation is full of Galliciſms, and is clearly a tranſlation from a French original: Such as *make fault, faire des fautes*; *make it ſeem that I believe, faire ſemblant de le croire*; *make brek, faire breche*; *this is my firſt journay, c'eſt ma premiere journée*; *have you not deſire to laugh, n'avez vous pas envie de rire*; *the place will hald unto the death, la place tiendra juſqu'a la mort*; *he may not come forth of the houſe this long time, il ne peut pas ſortir du logis de long tems*; *to make me advertiſement, faire m'avertir*; *put order to it, mettre ordre a cela*; *diſcharge your heart, decharger votre cœur*; *make gud watch, faites bon garde*, &c. (8.) There is a converſation, which ſhe mentions, between herſelf and the king one evening: But Murray produced before the Engliſh commiſſioners, the teſtimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lenox, who ſwore, that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an

an account of the ſame converſation. (9.) There ſeems very little reaſon why Murray and his aſſociates ſhould run the riſk of ſuch a dangerous forgery, which muſt have rendered them infamous, if detected; ſince their cauſe, from Mary's known conduct, even without theſe letters, was ſufficiently good and juſtifiable. (10.) Murray expoſed theſe letters to the examination of perſons qualified to judge of them; the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, queen Elizabeth and her council, who were poſſeſſed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters. (11.) He gave Mary herſelf an opportunity of refuting and expoſing him, if ſhe had choſen to lay hold of it. (12.) The letters tally ſo well with all the other parts of her conduct during that tranſaction, that theſe proofs throw the ſtrongeſt light on each other. (13.) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined theſe papers, and who favoured ſo much the queen of Scots, that he intended to marry her, and in the end loſt his life in her cauſe, yet believed them authentic, and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned, to queen Elizabeth and her miniſters, but by his ſecret acknowledgment to Baniſter, his moſt truſty confident. See State Trials, vol. i. p. 81. In the conferences between the duke, ſecretary Lidington, and the biſhop of Roſs, all of them zealous partizans of that princeſs, the ſame thing is always taken for granted. Ibid. p. 74, 75. See farther MS. in the Advocates' library. A. 3. 28. p. 314. from Cott. lib. Calig. c. 9. Indeed, the duke's full perſuaſion of Mary's guilt, without the leaſt doubt or heſitation, could not have had place, if he had found Lidington or the biſhop of Roſs of a different opinion, or if they had ever told him that theſe letters were forged. It is to be remarked, that Lidington, being one of the accomplices, knew the whole bottom of the conſpiracy againſt king Henry, and was, beſides, a man of ſuch penetration, that nothing could eſcape him in ſuch intereſting events. (14.) I need not repeat the preſumption drawn from Mary's refuſal to anſwer. The only excuſe for her ſilence, is, that ſhe ſuſpected Elizabeth to be a partial judge: It was not, indeed, the intereſt of that princeſs to acquit and juſtify her rival and competitor; and we accordingly find that Lidington, from the ſecret information

of the duke of Norfolk, informed Mary, by the biſhop of Roſs, that the queen of England never meant to come to a deciſion; but only to get into her hands the proofs of Mary's guilt, in order to blaſt her character: See State Trials, vol. i. p. 77. But this was a better reaſon for declining the conference altogether than for breaking it off, on frivolous pretences, the very moment the chief accuſation was unexpectedly opened againſt her. Though ſhe could not expect Elizabeth's final deciſion in her favour, it was of importance to give a ſatisfactory anſwer, if ſhe had any, to the accuſation of the Scotch commiſſioners. That anſwer could have been diſperſed for the ſatisfaction of the public, of foreign nations, and of poſterity. And ſurely after the accuſation and proofs were in queen Elizabeth's hands, it could do no hurt to give in the anſwers. Mary's information, that the queen never intended to come to a deciſion, could be no obſtacle to her juſtification. (15.) The very diſappearance of theſe letters, is a preſumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for no way but from the care of king James's friends, who were deſirous to deſtroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The diſappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. 1. muſt have proceeded from a like cauſe. See MS. in the Advocates' library, A. 3. 29. p. 88.

I FIND an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the vote of the Scotch privy-council, which affirms the letters to be written and ſubſcribed by queen Mary's own hand; whereas the copies given in to the parliament, a few days after, were only written, not ſubſcribed. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 64, 67. But it is not conſidered, that this circumſtance is of no manner of force: There were certainly letters, true or falſe, laid before the council; and whether the letters were true or falſe, this miſtake proceeds equally from the inaccuracy or blunder of the clerk. The miſtake may be accounted for: The letters were only written by her: The ſecond contract with Bothwell was only ſubſcribed. A proper accurate diſtinction was not made; and they are all ſaid to be written and ſubſcribed. A late writer, Mr. Goodall, has endeavoured to prove, that theſe letters claſh with chronology, and

and that the queen was not in the places mentioned in the letters, on the days there aſſigned: To confirm this, he produces charters and other deeds ſigned by the queen, where the date and place do not agree with the letters. But it is well known, that the date of charters, and ſuch like grants, is no proof of the real day on which they were ſigned by the ſovereign. Papers of that kind commonly paſs through different offices: The date is affixed by the firſt office; and may precede very long the day of the ſignature.

The account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hands, is very natural. When he gave it to the Engliſh commiſſioners, he had reaſon to think it would be canvaſſed with all the ſeverity of able adverſaries, intereſted in the higheſt degree to refute it. It is probable, that he could have confirmed it by many circumſtances and teſtimonies; ſince they declined the conteſt.

The ſonnets are inelegant; inſomuch, that both Brantome and Ronſard, who knew queen Mary's ſtyle, were aſſured, when they ſaw them, that they could not be her compoſition. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 478. But no perſon is equal in his productions, eſpecially one whoſe ſtyle is ſo little formed as Mary's muſt be ſuppoſed to be. Not to mention, that ſuch dangerous and criminal enterprizes leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant, poetical compoſitions.

In a word, queen Mary might eaſily have conducted the whole conſpiracy againſt her huſband, without opening her mind to any one perſon except Bothwel, and without writing a ſcrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it, ſo as that her conduct ſhould not betray her to men of diſcernment. In the preſent caſe, her conduct was ſo groſs as to betray her to every body; and fortune threw into her enemies' hands, papers by which they could convict her. The ſame infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the uſual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to obſerve, that there is not one circumſtance of the foregoing narrative, contained in the hiſtory, that is taken from Knox, Buchanan, or even Thuanus, or indeed, from any ſuſpected authority.

## NOTE [M], p. 145.

UNLESS we take this angry accuſation, advanced by queen Mary, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the leaſt preſumption which ſhould lead us to ſuſpect him to have been any wiſe an accomplice in the king's murder. That queen never pretended to give any proof of the charge; and her commiſſioners affirmed at the time, that they themſelves knew of none, though they were ready to maintain its truth by their miſtreſs's orders, and would produce ſuch proof as ſhe ſhould ſend them. It is remarkable, that, at that time, it was impoſſible for either her or them to produce any proof; becauſe the conferences before the Engliſh commiſſioners were previouſly broken off.

IT is true, the biſhop of Roſs, in an angry pamphlet, written by him under a borrowed name, (where it is eaſy to ſay any thing) affirms, that lord Herreis, a few days after the king's death, charged Murray with the guilt, openly, to his face, at his own table. This latter nobleman, as Leſly relates the matter, affirmed, that Murray riding in Fife with one of his ſervants, the evening before the commiſſion of that crime, ſaid to him among other talk, *This night 'ere morning the lord Darnley ſhall loſe his life.* See Anderſon, vol. i. p. 75. But this is only a hearſay of Leſly's, concerning a hearſay of Herreis's; and contains a very improbable fact. Would Murray, without any uſe or neceſſity, communicate to a ſervant, ſuch a dangerous and important ſecret, merely by way of converſation? We may alſo obſerve, that lord Herreis himſelf was one of queen Mary's commiſſioners who accuſed Murray. Had he ever heard this ſtory, or given credit to it, was not that the time to have produced it? and not have affirmed, as he did, that he, for his part, knew nothing of Murray's guilt. See Goodall, vol. ii. p. 307.

THE earls of Huntley and Argyle accuſe Murray of this crime; but the reaſon which they aſſign is ridiculous. He had given his conſent to Mary's divorce from the king; therefore he was the king's murderer. See Anderſon, vol. iv. part 2. p. 192. It is a ſure argument, that theſe earls knew

no

no better proof againſt Murray, otherwiſe they would have produced it, and not have inſiſted on ſo abſurd a preſumption. Was not this alſo the time for Huntley to deny his writing Mary's contract with Bothwel, if that paper had been a forgery?

Murray could have no motive to commit that crime. The king, indeed, bore him ſome ill will; but the king himſelf was become ſo deſpicable, both from his own ill conduct and the queen's averſion to him, that he could neither do good nor harm to any body. To judge by the event, in any caſe, is always abſurd; more eſpecially in the preſent. The king's murder, indeed, procured Murray the regency: But much more Mary's ill-conduct and imprudence, which he could not poſſibly foreſee, and which never would have happened, had ſhe been entirely innocent.

## NOTE [N], p. 145.

I Believe there is no reader of common ſenſe, who does not ſee, from the narrative in the text, that the author means to ſay, that queen Mary refuſes conſtantly to anſwer before the Engliſh commiſſioners, but offers only to anſwer in perſon before queen Elizabeth in perſon, contrary to her practice during the whole courſe of the conference, till the moment the evidence of her being an accomplice in her huſband's murder is unexpectedly produced. It is true, the author having repeated four or five times an account of this demand of being admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, and having expreſſed his opinion, that, as it had been refuſed from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences, ſhe did not expect it would now be complied with; thought it impoſſible his meaning could be miſunderſtood, (as indeed it was impoſſible), and not being willing to tire his reader with continual repetitions, he mentions in a paſſage or two, ſimply, that ſhe had refuſed to make any anſwer. I believe alſo, there is no reader of common ſenſe who peruſes Anderſon or Goodall's collections, and does not ſee, that, agreeably to this narrative, queen Mary inſiſts unalterably and ſtrenuouſly on not continuing to anſwer before the Engliſh commiſſioners, but inſiſts to be heard in perſon, by queen Elizabeth in perſon;

though once or twice, by way of bravado, ſhe ſays ſimply, that ſhe will anſwer and refute her enemies, without inſerting this condition, which ſtill is underſtood. But there is a perſon, that has writ an *Enquiry hiſtorical and critical into the evidence againſt Mary queen of Scots*; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a ſingle paſſage of the narrative in which Mary is ſaid ſimply to refuſe anſwering; and then a ſingle paſſage from Goodall, in which ſhe boaſts ſimply that ſhe will anſwer; and he very civilly and almoſt directly calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Enquiry, from beginning to end, is compoſed of ſuch ſcandalous artifices; and from this inſtance, the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the Enquirer. There are indeed three events in our hiſtory, which may be regarded as touchſtones of partymen. An Engliſh Whig, who aſſerts the reality of the popiſh plot, an Iriſh Catholic, who denies the maſſacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, muſt be conſidered as men beyond the reach of argument or reaſon, and muſt be left to their prejudices.

## NOTE [O], p. 167.

BY Murden's ſtate papers, publiſhed after writing this hiſtory, it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for delivering up of Mary to him. The queen afterwards ſent down Killigrew to the earl of Marre when regent, offering to put Mary into his hands. Killigrew was inſtructed to take good ſecurity from the regent, that that queen ſhould be tried for her crimes, and that the ſentence ſhould be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer; becauſe we hear no more of it.

## NOTE [P], p. 169.

SIR James Melvil, p. 108, 109. aſcribes to Elizabeth a poſitive deſign of animating the Scotch factions againſt each other; but his evidence is too inconſiderable to counterbalance many other authorities, and is, indeed, contrary to her

her ſubſequent conduct, as well as her intereſt, and the neceſſity of her ſituation. It was plainly her intereſt, that the king's party ſhould prevail, and nothing could have engaged her to ſtop their progreſs, or even forbear openly aſſiſting them, but her intention of ſtill amuſing the queen of Scots, by the hopes of being peaceably reſtored to her throne. See farther Strype, vol. ii. Append. p. 20.

## NOTE [Q], p. 243.

THAT the queen's negociations for marrying the duke Anjou were not feigned nor political, appears clearly from many circumſtances; particularly from a paſſage in Dr. Forbes's manuſcript collections, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of lord Royſton. She there enjoins Walſingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the perſon of the duke; and as that prince had lately recovered from the ſmall pox, ſhe deſires her ambaſſador to conſider, whether he yet retained ſo much of his good looks, as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had ſhe not been in earneſt, and had ſhe only meant to amuſe the public or the court of France, this circumſtance was of no moment.

## NOTE [R], p. 265.

D'EWES, p. 328. The puritanical ſect had indeed gone ſo far, that a book of diſcipline was ſecretly ſubſcribed by above five hundred clergymen; and the preſbyterian government thereby eſtabliſhed in the midſt of the church, notwithſtanding the rigour of the prelates and of the high commiſſion. So impoſſible is it by penal ſtatutes, however ſevere, to ſuppreſs all religious innovation. See Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 483. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 291.

## NOTE [S], p. 267.

THIS year, the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, had been engaged in a conſpiracy with lord Paget for the delivery of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conſcious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at leaſt, that ſentence

tence would infallibly be pronounced againſt him, he freed himſelf from farther proſecution by a voluntary death. He ſhot himſelf in the breaſt with a piſtol. About the ſame time, the earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into ſome exceptionable meaſures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate, which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart ſecretly beyond ſea, but was diſcovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587 this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treaſon; chiefly becauſe he had dropped ſome expreſſions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed that he would have maſſes ſaid for the ſucceſs of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treaſon: This ſevere ſentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a priſoner in 1595. He carried his religious auſterities ſo far, that they were believed the immediate cauſe of his death.

## NOTE [T], p. 282.

MARY's extreme animoſity againſt Elizabeth may eaſily be conceived, and broke out, about this time, in an incident, which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in cuſtody by the earl of Shrewſbury, ſhe lived during a long time in great intimacy with the counteſs; but that lady entertaining a jealouſy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendſhip was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her ſpite againſt the counteſs and that againſt Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen informing her of all the malicious ſcandalous ſtories, which, ſhe ſaid, the counteſs of Shrewſbury had reported of her: That Elizabeth had given a promiſe of marriage to a certain perſon, whom ſhe afterwards often admitted to her bed: That ſhe had been equally indulgent to Simier, the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: That Hatton was alſo one of her paramours, who was even diſguſted with her exceſſive love and fondneſs: That though ſhe was on other occaſions avaritious to the laſt degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, ſhe ſpared no expence in gratifying her amorous paſſions: That notwithſtanding her licentious amours, ſhe was not made like other women; and all thoſe who court-

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ed her marriage would in the end be diſappointed: That ſhe was ſo conceited of her beauty, as to ſwallow the moſt extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on theſe occaſions, forbear even ſneering at her for her folly: That it was uſual for them to tell her, that the luſtre of her beauty dazled them like that of the ſun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye: She added, that the counteſs had ſaid, that Mary's beſt policy would be to engage her ſon to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that ſuch a propoſal would be taken for mockery: So ridiculous was the opinion which ſhe had entertained of her own charms. She pretended, that the counteſs had repreſented her as no leſs odious in her temper than profligate in her manners, and abſurd in her vanity: That ſhe had ſo beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended, that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candleſtick: That ſhe had cut another acroſs the hand with a knife, who had been ſo unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the counteſs had informed her, that Elizabeth had ſuborned Rolſtone to pretend friendſhip to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See Murden's State Papers, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was writ a very little before the detection of Mary's conſpiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings againſt her more rigorous. How far all theſe imputations againſt Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful; But her extreme fondneſs for Leiceſter, Hatton, and Eſſex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious paſſages between her and admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chaſtity very much to be ſuſpected. Her ſelf-conceit with regard to beauty, we know from other undoubted authority, to have been extravagant. Even when ſhe was a very old woman, ſhe allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her *excellent beauties*. Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Her paſſionate temper may alſo be proved from many lively inſtances; and it was not unuſual with her to beat her maids of honour. See the Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 38. The blow ſhe gave to Eſſex before the privy-council is another

ther inſtance. There remains in the Muſæum a letter of the earl of Huntington's, in which he complains grievouſly of the queen's pinching his wife very ſorely, on account of ſome quarrel between them. Had this princeſs been born in a private ſtation, ſhe would not have been very amiable: But her abſolute authority, at the ſame time that it gave an uncontroled ſwing to her violent paſſions, enabled her to compenſate for her infirmities by many great and ſignal virtues.

## NOTE [U], p. 295.

CAMDEN, p. 525. This evidence was that of Curle, her ſecretary, whom ſhe allowed to be a very honeſt man; and who, as well as Nau, had given proofs of his integrity, by keeping ſo long ſuch important ſecrets, from whoſe diſcovery he could have reaped the greateſt profit. Mary, after all, thought, that ſhe had ſo little reaſon to complain of Curle's evidence, that ſhe took care to have him paid a conſiderable ſum by her will, which ſhe wrote the day before her death. Goodall, vol. i. p. 413. Neither did ſhe forget Nau, though leſs ſatisfied in other reſpects with his conduct. Id. ibid.

## NOTE [X], p. 295.

THE detail of this conſpiracy is to be found in a letter of the queen of Scots to Charles Paget, her great confident. This letter is dated the 20th of May 1586, and is contained in Dr. Forbes's manuſcript collections, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of lord Royſton. It is a copy atteſted by Curle, Mary's ſecretary, and indorſed by lord Burleigh. What proves its authenticity beyond queſtion is that we find in Murden's Collection, p. 516, that Mary actually wrote that very day a letter to Charles Paget: And farther, ſhe mentions, in the manuſcript letter, a letter of Charles Paget's of the 10th of April: Now we find by Murden, p. 506, that Charles Paget did actually write her a letter of that date.

THIS violence of ſpirit is very conſiſtent with Mary's character. Her maternal affection was too weak to oppoſe the gratification of her paſſions, particularly her pride, her ambition, and her bigotry. Her ſon, having made ſome fruitleſs

leſs attempts to aſſociate her with him in the title, and having found this ſcheme impracticable, on account of the prejudices of his proteſtant ſubjects, at laſt deſiſted from that deſign, and entered into an alliance with England, without comprehending his mother. She was in ſuch a rage at this undutiful behaviour, as ſhe imagined it, that ſhe wrote to queen Elizabeth, that ſhe no longer cared what became of him or her in the world; the greateſt ſatisfaction ſhe could have before her death was to ſee him and all his adherents become a ſignal example of tyranny, ingratitude and impiety, and undergo the vengeance of God for their wickedneſs. She would find in Chriſtendom other heirs, and doubted not to put her inheritance in ſuch hands as would retain the firmeſt hold of it. She cared not, after taking this revenge, what became of her body: The quickeſt death would then be the moſt agreeable to her. And ſhe aſſured her, that, if he perſevered, ſhe would diſown him for her ſon, would give him her malediction, would diſinherit him, as well of his preſent poſſeſſions as of all he could expect by her; abandoning him not only to her ſubjects to treat him as they had done her, but to all ſtrangers to ſubdue and conquer him. It was in vain to employ menaces againſt her: The fear of death or other misfortune would never induce her to make one ſtep or pronounce one ſyllable beyond what ſhe had determined: She would rather periſh with honour, in maintaining the dignity, to which God had raiſed her, than degrade herſelf by the leaſt puſillanimity, or act what was unworthy of her ſtation and of her race. Murden, p. 566, 567.

James ſaid to Courcelles, the French ambaſſador, that he had ſeen a letter under her own hand, in which ſhe threatned to diſinherit him, and ſaid that he might betake him to the lordſhip of Darnley: For that was all he had by his father. *Courcelles' Letter, a MS. of Dr. Campbel's.* There is in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 573, a letter of her's where ſhe throws out the ſame menace againſt him.

We find this ſcheme of ſeizing the king of Scots, and delivering him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, propoſed by Morgan to Mary. See Murden, p. 525. A mother

mother muſt be very violent to whom one would dare to make ſuch a propoſal: But it ſeems ſhe aſſented to it.

## NOTE [Y], p. 297.

THE volume of State Papers collected by Mr. Murden, prove beyond controverſy, that Mary was long in cloſe correſpondence with Babington, p. 513, 516, 532, 533. She entertained a like correſpondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a ſcheme with them for an inſurrection, and for the invaſion of England by Spain, p. 528, 531. The ſame papers ſhow, that there had been a diſcontinuance of Babington's correſpondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513. where Morgan recommends it to queen Mary to renew the correſpondence with Babington. Theſe circumſtances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correſpondence with Babington contained particulars, which could not be avowed.

## NOTE [Z], p. 297.

THERE are three ſuppoſitions, by which the letter to Babington may be accounted for, without allowing Mary's concurrence in the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. The firſt is, that which ſhe ſeems herſelf to have embraced, that her ſecretaries had received Babington's letter, and had, without any treacherous intention, ventured of themſelves to anſwer it, and had never communicated the matter to her: But it is utterly improbable, if not impoſſible, that a princeſs of that ſenſe and ſpirit ſhould, in an affair of that importance, be ſo treated by her ſervants who lived in the houſe with her, and who had every moment an opportunity of communicating the ſecret to her. If the conſpiracy failed, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſevereſt puniſhment from the court of England; if it ſucceeded, the lighteſt puniſhment, which they could hope for from their own miſtreſs, muſt be diſgrace, on account of their temerity. Not to mention, that Mary's concurrence was in ſome degree requiſite for effectuating the deſign of her eſcape: It was propoſed to attack her guards, while ſhe was employed in hunting: She muſt there-

fore concert the time and place with the conſpirators. The ſecond ſuppoſition is, that theſe two ſecretaries were previouſly traitors; and being gained by Walſingham, had made ſuch a reply in their miſtreſs's cypher, as might involve her in the guilt of the conſpiracy. But theſe two men had lived long with the queen of Scots, had been entirely truſted by her, and had never fallen under ſuſpicion either with her or her partizans. Camden informs us, that Curle afterwards claimed a reward from Walſingham on pretence of ſome promiſe; but Walſingham told him, that he owed him no reward, and that he had made no diſcoveries on his examination, which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third ſuppoſition is, that neither the queen nor the two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, ever ſaw Babington's letter, or made any anſwer; but that Walſingham, having decyphered the former, forged a reply. But this ſuppoſition implies the falſehood of the whole ſtory, told by Camden, of Gifford's acceſs to the queen of Scots's family, and Paulet's refuſal to concur in allowing his ſervants to be bribed. Not to mention, that as Nau's and Curle's evidence muſt, on this ſuppoſition, have been extorted by violence and terror, they would neceſſarily have been engaged, for their own juſtification, to have told the truth afterwards; eſpecially upon the acceſſion of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that event, perſiſted ſtill in his teſtimony.

We muſt alſo conſider, that the two laſt ſuppoſitions imply ſuch a monſtrous criminal conduct in Walſingham, and conſequently in Elizabeth (for the matter could be no ſecret to her) as exceeds all credibility. If we conſider the ſituation of things and the prejudices of the times, Mary's conſent to Babington's conſpiracy appears much more natural and probable. She believed Elizabeth to be an uſurper and a heretic: She regarded her as a perſonal and a violent enemy: She knew that ſchemes for aſſaſſinating heretics were very familiar in that age, and generally approved of by the court of Rome and the zealous catholics: Her own liberty and ſovereignty were connected with the ſucceſs of this enterprize: And it cannot appear ſtrange, that where men of ſo much merit as Babington could

could be engaged, by bigotry alone, in ſo criminal an enterprize, Mary, who was actuated by the ſame motive, joined to ſo many others, ſhould have given her conſent to a ſcheme projected by her friends. We may be previouſly certain, that, if ſuch a ſcheme was ever communicated to her, with any probability of ſucceſs, ſhe would aſſent to it: And it ſerved the purpoſe of Walſingham and the Engliſh miniſtry to facilitate the communication of theſe ſchemes, as ſoon as they had got an expedient for intercepting her anſwer, and detecting the conſpiracy. Now Walſingham's knowledge of the matter is a ſuppoſition neceſſary to account for the letter delivered to Babington.

As to the not puniſhing of Nau and Curle by Elizabeth, it never is the practice to puniſh leſſer criminals, who had given evidence againſt the principal.

But what ought to induce us to reject theſe three ſuppoſitions, is, that they muſt, all of them, be conſidered as bare poſſibilities: The partizans of Mary can give no reaſon for preferring one to the other: Not the ſlighteſt evidence ever appeared to ſupport any one of them: Neither at that time, nor at any time after, was any reaſon diſcovered, by the numerous zealots at home and abroad who had embraced Mary's defence, to lead us to the belief of any of theſe three ſuppoſitions; and even her apologiſts at preſent ſeem not to have fixed on any choice among theſe ſuppoſed poſſibilities. The poſitive proof of two very credible witneſſes, ſupported by the other very ſtrong circumſtances, ſtill remains unimpeached. Babington, who had an extreme intereſt to have communication with the queen of Scots, believed he had found a means of correſpondence with her, and had received an anſwer from her: He, as well as the other conſpirators, died in that belief: There has not occurred, ſince that time, the leaſt argument to prove that they were miſtaken: Can there be any reaſon at preſent to doubt of the truth of their opinion? Camden, though a profeſſed apologiſt for Mary, is conſtrained to tell the ſtory in ſuch a manner as evidently ſuppoſes her guilt. Such was the impoſſibility of finding any other conſiſtent account, even by a man of parts, who was a contemporary!

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In this light might the queſtion have appeared even during Mary's trial. But what now puts her guilt beyond all controverſy is the following paſſage of her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July 1586. "As to Babington, he hath "both kindly and honeſtly offered himſelf and all his means "to be employed any way I would. Whereupon I hope to "have ſatisfied him by two of my ſeveral letters, ſince I had "his; and the rather, for that I opened him the way, where-"by I received his with your aforeſaid." Murden, p. 533. Babington confeſſed, that he had offered her to aſſaſſinate the queen: It appears by this, that ſhe had accepted the offer: So that all the ſuppoſitions of Walſingham's forgery, or the temerity or treachery of her ſecretaries, fall to the ground.

## NOTE [AA], p. 302.

THIS parliament granted the queen a ſupply of a ſubſidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again after the execution of the queen of Scots; when there paſſed ſome remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We ſhall give them in the words of Sir Simon D'Ewes, p. 410, 411, which are almoſt wholly tranſcribed from Townſhend's Journal. On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, firſt uſing ſome ſpeeches touching the neceſſity of a learned miniſtry and the amendment of things amiſs in the eccleſiaſtical eſtate, offered to the houſe a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition, that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching eccleſiaſtical government ſhould be void: And that it might be enacted that that book of common prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be uſed. The book contained the form of prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies to be uſed in the church; and he deſired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect uſed this ſpeech: For that her majeſty before this time had commanded the houſe not to meddle with this matter, and that her majeſty had promiſed to take order in thoſe cauſes, he doubted not but to the good ſatisfaction of all her people, he deſired that it would pleaſe them to ſpare the reading of it. Notwithſtanding the houſe deſired the reading of

it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker desired the clerk to read. And the court being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion against the reading of it; saying, that it was not meet to be read, and it did appoint a new form of administration of the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the discredit of the book of common prayer and of the whole state; and thought that this dealing would bring her majesty's indignation against the house, thus to enterprize this dealing with those things which her majesty especially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor spake, shewing the necessity of preaching and of a learned ministry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book should be read. To this purpose spake Mr. Hurleston and Mr. Bainbrigg; and so, the time being passed, the house broke up, and neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majesty sent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the last session of parliament, which Mr. Speaker sent to her majesty. On Tuesday the 28th of February, her majesty sent for Mr. Speaker, by occasion whereof the house did not sit. On Wednesday the first day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained questions touching the liberties of the house, and to some of which he was to answer, and desired they might be read. Mr. Speaker desired him to spare his motion, until her majesty's pleasure was further known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the house; but Mr. Wentworth would not be so satisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from speaking, by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the house; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the same here assembled, freely and without controulment of any person or danger of laws, by bill or speech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatsoever, touching the service of God, the safety of the prince and this noble realm? Whether that great honour may be done unto God, and benefit and service unto the prince and state, without free speech

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in this council that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminish from the laws of the realm but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not against the orders of this council to make any secret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince or any other, concerning the high service of God, prince or state, without the consent of the house? Whether the speaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his speech used in this house tending to any of the forenamed services? Whether the speaker may rise when he will, any matter being propounded, without consent of the house or not? Whether the speaker may over-rule the house in any matter or cause there in question, or whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and state can continue, and stand, and be maintained, without this council of parliament, not altering the government of the state? At the end of these questions, says Sir Simon D'Ewes, I found set down this short note or memorial ensuing: By which it may be perceived, both what serjeant Puckering, the speaker, did with the said questions after he had received them, and what became also of this business, viz. "These questions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and shewed "Sir Thomas Henage, who so handled the matter, that Mr. "Wentworth went to the Tower, and the questions not at all "moved. Mr. Buckler of Essex herein brake his faith "in forsaking the matter, &c. and no more was done." After setting down, continues Sir Simon D'Ewes, the said business of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal book, there follows only this short conclusion of the day itself, viz. "This day, Mr. Speaker being sent for to the queen's ma-"jesty, the house departed." On Thursday the second of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurlston, and Mr. Bainbrigg were sent for to my lord chancellor and by divers of the privy council, and from thence were sent to the Tower. On Saturday, the fourth day of March, Sir John Higham made a motion to this house, for that divers good and necessary members thereof were taken from them, that it would please them to be humble petitioners to her majesty for the

reſtitution of them again to the houſe. To which ſpeeches Mr. Vice-chamberlain anſwered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compaſs of the privilege of this houſe, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we ſhould give occaſion to her majeſty's farther diſpleaſure: And therefore adviſed to ſtay until they heard more, which could not be long: And farther, he ſaid touching the book and the petition, her majeſty had, for diverſe good cauſes beſt known to herſelf, thought fit to ſuppreſs the ſame, without any farther examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majeſty to give any account of her doings.—— But whatſoever Mr. Vice-chamberlain pretended, it is moſt probable theſe members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majeſty had often inhibited, and which had cauſed ſo much diſputation and ſo many meetings between the two houſes the laſt parliament.

THIS is all we find of the matter in Sir Simon D'Ewes and Townſend; and it appears that thoſe members, who had been committed, were detained in cuſtody till the queen thought proper to releaſe them. Theſe queſtions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; becauſe they contain ſome faint dawnings of the preſent Engliſh conſtitution; though ſuddenly eclipſed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth was indeed, by his puritaniſm, as well as his love of liberty (for theſe two characters, of ſuch unequal merit, aroſe and advanced together) the true forerunner of the Hambdens, the Pyms, and the Holliſes, who, in the next age, with leſs courage, becauſe with leſs danger, rendered their principles ſo triumphant. I ſhall only aſk, whether it be not ſufficiently clear from all theſe tranſactions, that in the two ſucceeding reigns it was the people who encroached upon the ſovereign; not the ſovereign, who attempted, as is pretended, to uſurp upon the people?

## NOTE [BB], p. 336.

*THE queen's ſpeech in the camp of Tilbury was in theſe words:* My loving people, we have been perſuaded by ſome, that are careful of our ſafety, to take heed how we commit ourſelves

ourſelves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always ſo behaved myſelf, that, under God, I have placed my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my ſubjects. And therefore I am come amongſt you at this time, not as for my recreation or ſport, but being reſolved in the midſt and heat of the battle to live or die amongſt you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the duſt. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul ſcorn, that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, ſhould dare to invade the borders of my realms: To which, rather than any diſhonour ſhall grow by me, I myſelf will take up arms; I myſelf will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardneſs, that you have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a prince, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant general ſhall be in my ſtead; than whom never prince commanded more noble and worthy ſubject; not doubting, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

## NOTE [CC], p. 345.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 525. On the fourth of September, ſoon after the diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, died the earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great, but unworthy, favourite. Her affection for him continued to the laſt. He had diſcovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes; and was ſuſpected of cowardice: Yet ſhe entruſted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spaniſh invaſion; a partiality, which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commiſſion to be drawn for him, conſtituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton repreſented to her the danger of entruſting

ſuch unlimited authority in the hands of any ſubject, and prevented the execution of that deſign. No wonder, that a conduct, ſo unlike the uſual jealouſy of Elizabeth, gave reaſon to ſuſpect, that her partiality was founded on ſome other paſſion than friendſhip. But Elizabeth ſeemed to carry her affection to Leiceſter no farther than the grave: She ordered his goods to be diſpoſed of at a public ſale, to reimburſe herſelf of ſome debt which he owed her; and her uſual attention to money was obſerved to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceaſed. This earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the ſtricteſt religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hoſpitals.

## NOTE [DD], p. 345.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 542. Id. append. p. 239. There are ſome ſingular paſſages in this laſt ſpeech, which may be worth taking notice of; eſpecially as they came from a member who was no courtier: For he argues againſt the ſubſidy. "And firſt," ſays he, "for the *neceſſity* thereof, I "cannot deny, but if it were a charge impoſed upon us by "her majeſty's commandment, or a demand proceeding from "her majeſty by way of requeſt, that I think there is not one "among us all, either ſo diſobedient a ſubject in regard of "our duty, or ſo unthankful a man in reſpect of the ineſtimable benefits which, by her or from her, we have received, "which would not with frank conſent, both of voice and "heart, moſt willingly ſubmit himſelf thereunto, without "any unreverend enquiry into the cauſes thereof. For it is "continually in the mouth of us all, that our lands, goods, "and lives are at our prince's diſpoſing. And it agreeth "very well with that poſition of the civil law, which ſayeth, "*Quod omnia regis ſunt.* But how? *Ita tamen ut omnium ſint. Ad regem enim poteſtas omnium pertinet; ad ſingulos proprietas.* "So that although it be moſt true, that her majeſty hath over "ourſelves and our goods, *poteſtatem imperandi*; yet it is "true, that until that power command (which, no doubt, "will not command without very juſt cauſe) every ſubject "hath his own *proprietatem poſſidendi.* Which power and "commandment

" commandment from her majeſty, which we have not yet " received, I take it (ſaving reformation) that we are freed " from the cauſe of *neceſſity*. And the cauſe of neceſſity, is " the dangerous eſtate of the commonwealth, &c." The tenor of the ſpeech pleads rather for a general benevolence than a ſubſidy: For the law of Richard III. againſt benevolence was never conceived to have any force. The member even proceeds to aſſert, with ſome precaution, that it was in the power of a parliament to refuſe the king's demand of a ſubſidy. And that there was an inſtance of that liberty in Henry III.'s time, near four hundred years before. *Sub fine.*

## NOTE [EE], p. 348.

WE may judge of the extent and importance of theſe abuſes by a ſpeech of Bacon's againſt purveyors, delivered in the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of the ſubſequent reign, by which alſo we may learn that Elizabeth had given no redreſs to the grievances complained of. " Firſt," ſays he, " they take in kind what they ought not to take; ſe- " condly, they take in quantity a far greater proportion than " cometh to your majeſty's uſe; thirdly, they take in an un- " lawful manner, in a manner, I ſay, directly and expreſsly " prohibited by the ſeveral laws. For the firſt, I am a little " to alter their name: For inſtead of takers, they become " taxers: Inſtead of taking proviſions for your majeſty's ſer- " vice, they tax your people *ad redimendam vexationem*; im- " poſing upon them and extorting from them divers ſums of " money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the nature of ſti- " pends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be freed and eaſed of " their oppreſſion. Again, they take trees, which by law " they cannot do; timber trees, which are the beauty, coun- " tenance and ſhelter of men's houſes; that men have long " ſpared from their own purſe and profit; that men eſteem, " for their uſe and delight, above ten times the value; " that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover. Theſe " do they take, to the defacing and ſpoiling of your ſubjects " manſions and dwellings, except they may be compounded " with to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too

" hard for them while he is at home, they will watch their " time when there is but a bailiff or a ſervant remaining, and " put the ax to the root of the tree, ere ever the maſter can " ſtop it. Again, they uſe a ſtrange and moſt unjuſt exaction " in cauſing the ſubjects to pay poundage of their own debts, " due from your majeſty unto them: So as a poor man, when " he has had his hay or his wood, or his poultry (which per- " chance he was full loath to part with, and had for the pro- " viſion of his own family and not to put to ſale) taken from " him, and that not at a juſt price, but under the value, " and cometh to receive his money, he ſhall have after the " rate of twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage of " his due payment upon ſo hard conditions. Nay farther " they are grown to that extremity (as is affirmed, though it " be ſcarce credible, ſave that in ſuch perſons all things are " credible) that they will take double poundage, once when " the debenture is made, and again the ſecond time, when " the money is paid. For the ſecond point, moſt gracious " ſovereign, touching the quantity which they take far above " that which is anſwered to your majeſty's uſe; it is affirmed " unto me by divers gentlemen of good report, as a matter " which I may ſafely avouch unto your majeſty, that there " is no pound profit, which redoundeth unto your majeſty in " this courſe, but induceth and begetteth three pound da- " mage upon your ſubjects, beſide the diſcontentment. And " to the end they may make their ſpoil more ſecurely, what " do they? Whereas divers ſtatutes do ſtrictly provide, that " whatſoever they take ſhall be regiſtered and atteſted, to the " end that by making a collation of that which is taken from " the country and that which is anſwered above, their de- " ceits might appear, they, to the end to obſcure their " deceits, utterly omit the obſervation of this, which the law " preſcribeth. And therefore to deſcend, if it may pleaſe " your majeſty, to the third ſort of abuſe, which is of the " unlawful manner of their taking, whereof this queſtion is " a branch; it is ſo manifold, as it rather aſketh an enume- " ration of ſome of the particulars than a proſecution of all. " For their price, by law they ought to take as they can agree " with the ſubject; by abuſe, they take at an impoſed and en-

" forced

" forced price: By law they ought to make but one apprize-
" ment by neighbours in the country; by abuſe, they make
" a ſecond apprizement at the court-gate, and when the ſub-
" jects cattle come up many miles lean and out of plight by
" reaſon of their travel, then they prize them anew at an
" abated price: By law, they ought to take between ſun and
" ſun; by abuſe, they take by twilight and in the night-
" time, a time well choſen for malefactors: By law, they
" ought not to take in the high-ways (a place by her ma-
" jeſty's high prerogative protected, and by ſtatute by ſpecial
" words excepted) by abuſe, they take in the highways: By
" law, they ought to ſhew their commiſſion, &c. A number
" of other particulars there are, &c." Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306.

SUCH were the abuſes, which Elizabeth would neither permit her parliaments to meddle with, nor redreſs herſelf. I believe it will readily be allowed, that this ſlight prerogative alone, which has paſſed almoſt unobſerved amidſt other branches of ſo much greater importance, was ſufficient to extinguiſh all regular liberty. For what elector, or member of parliament, or even juryman, durſt oppoſe the will of the court, while he lay under the laſh of ſuch an arbitrary prerogative? For a farther account of the grievous and incredible oppreſſions of purveyors, ſee the Journals of the houſe of commons, vol. i. p. 190. There is a ſtory of a carter, which may be worth mentioning on this occaſion. " A carter had three
" times been at Windſor with his cart to carry away, upon
" ſummons of a remove, ſome part of the ſtuff of her ma-
" jeſty's wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once,
" twice, and the third time, and that they of the wardrobe
" had told him the third time that the remove held not, the
" carter, clapping his hand on his thigh, ſaid, *Now I ſee,*
" *that the queen is a woman as well as my wife.* Which words
" being overheard by her majeſty, who then ſtood at the win-
" dow, ſhe ſaid, *What a villain is this?* and ſo ſent him
" three angels to ſtop his mouth." Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 155.

## NOTE [FF], p. 358.

THIS year the nation ſuffered a great loſs, by the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate; a man equally celebrated for his ability and his integrity. He had paſſed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expence, yet died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, firſt married to Sir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Eſſex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and laſtly to the earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The ſame year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in ſeveral embaſſies to Scotland; as did alſo the earl of Warwic, elder brother to Leiceſter.

## NOTE [GG], p. 361.

THIS action of Sir Richard Greenville is ſo ſingular, as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spaniſh fleet of fifty-three ſail, which had ten thouſand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulſed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually ſhifted their veſſels, and boarded with freſh men. In the beginning of the action he himſelf received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a freſh wound, he was carried down to be dreſſed. During this operation he received a ſhot in the head, and the ſurgeon was killed by his ſide. The Engliſh began now to want powder; all their ſmall arms were broken or become uſeleſs; of this number, which were but a hundred and three at firſt, forty were killed, and almoſt all the reſt wounded; their maſts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this ſituation Sir Richard propoſed to the ſhip's company, to truſt to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to deſtroy the ſhip with themſelves, rather than yield to the enemy. The maſter gunner, and many of the ſeamen, agreed to this deſperate reſolution; but others oppoſed it, and obliged Greenville to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. He died a few days after; and his

his laſt words were: "Here die I, Richard Greenville, with "a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as "a true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his country, Queen, "religion, and honour: My ſoul willingly departing from "this body, leaving behind the laſting fame of having be-"haved as every valiant ſoldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards loſt in this ſharp though unequal action, four ſhips, and about a thouſand men. And Greenville's veſſel periſhed ſoon after, with two hundred Spaniards in her. Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 565.

## NOTE [HH], p. 385.

IT is uſual for the ſpeaker to diſqualify himſelf for the office; but the reaſons employed by this ſpeaker are ſo ſingular, that they may be worth tranſcribing. "My eſtate," ſaid he, "is nothing correſpondent for the maintenance of "this dignity: For my father dying left me a younger bro-"ther; and nothing to me but my bare annuity. Then "growing to man's eſtate and ſome ſmall practice of the law, "I took a wife, by whom I have had many children; the "keeping of us all being a great impoveriſhing to my eſtate, "and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily induſtry. "Neither from my perſon nor my nature doth this choice "ariſe: For he that ſupplieth this place ought to be a man "big and comely, ſtately, and well-ſpoken, his voice great, "his carriage majeſtical, his nature haughty, and his purſe "plentiful and heavy: But contrarily, the ſtature of my body "is ſmall, myſelf not ſo well ſpoken, my voice low, my car-"riage lawyer like, and of the common faſhion, my nature "ſoft and baſhful, my purſe thin, light, and never yet plen-"tiful.——If *Demoſthenes*, being ſo learned and eloquent as "he was, one whom none ſurpaſſed, trembled to ſpeak before "*Phocion* at *Athens*; how much more ſhall I, being unlearned "and unſkilful to ſupply the place of dignity, charge, and "trouble, to ſpeak before ſo many *Phocions* as here be? Yea, "which is the greateſt, before the unſpeakable majeſty and "ſacred perſonage of our dread and dear ſovereign: The "terror of whoſe countenance will appal and abaſe even the "ſtouteſt

" ſtouteſt hearts; yea, whoſe very name will pull down the " greateſt courage. For how mightily do the eſtate and name " of a prince deject the haughtieſt ſtomach even of their " greateſt ſubjects?" D'Ewes, p. 459.

## NOTE [II], p. 392.

CABBALA, p. 234. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 386. Speed, p. 877. The whole letter of Eſſex is ſo curious and ſo ſpirited, that the reader may not be diſpleaſed to read it. " My very good lord; Though there is not that man " this day living, whom I would ſooner make judge of any " queſtion that might concern me than yourſelf, yet you muſt " give me leave to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeal " from all earthly judges: And if in any, then ſurely in this, " when the higheſt judge on earth has impoſed on me the " heavieſt puniſhment without trial or hearing. Since then I " muſt either anſwer your lordſhip's argument, or elſe forſake " mine own juſt defence, I will force mine aching head to do " me ſervice for an hour. I muſt firſt deny my diſcontent, " which was forced, to be an humourous diſcontent; and " that it was unſeaſonable or is of ſo long continuing, your " lordſhip ſhould rather condole with me than expoſtulate: " Natural ſeaſons are expected here below; but violent and " unreaſonable ſtorms come from above: There is no tempeſt " equal to the paſſionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at " any time ſo unſeaſonable as when it lighteth on thoſe that " might expect a harveſt of their careful and painful labours. " He that is once wounded, muſt needs feel ſmart, till his " hurt is cured, or the part hurt become ſenſeleſs: But cure " I expect none, her majeſty's heart being obdurate againſt " me; and be without ſenſe I cannot, being of fleſh and " blood. But, ſay you, I may aim at the end: I do more " than aim; for I ſee an end of all my fortunes, I have ſet an " end to all my deſires. In this courſe do I any thing for my " enemies? When I was at court, I found them abſolute; " and, therefore, I had rather they ſhould triumph alone, " than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave " my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them " no

" no fruit of my love unto them; and now, that I am a her-
" mit, they ſhall bear no envy for their love towards me.
" Or do I forſake myſelf, becauſe I do enjoy myſelf? Or do
" I overthrow my fortunes, becauſe I build not a fortune of
" paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or
" do I ruinate mine honour, becauſe I leave following the
" purſuit, or wearing the falſe badge or mark of the ſhadow
" of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign
" foe, becauſe I reſerve myſelf to encounter with him? Or
" becauſe I keep my heart from buſineſs, though I cannot
" keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord,
" I give every one of theſe conſiderations its due weight; and
" the more I weigh them, the more I find myſelf juſtified from
" offending in any of them. As for the two laſt objections,
" that I forſake my country, when it hath moſt need of me,
" and fail in that indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my ſove-
" reign; I anſwer, that if my country had at this time any
" need of my public ſervice, her majeſty, that governeth it,
" would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to
" my country by two bonds; one public, to diſcharge care-
" fully and induſtriouſly that truſt which is committed to me;
" the other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and carcaſe,
" which hath been nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt I am free,
" being diſmiſſed, diſcharged, and diſabled by her majeſty:
" Of the other, nothing can free me but death; and therefore
" no occaſion of my performance ſhall ſooner offer itſelf but I
" ſhall meet it half way. The indiſſoluble duty which I owe
" unto her majeſty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I
" never have, nor never can fail in: The duty of attendance,
" is no indiſſoluble duty. I owe her majeſty the duty of an
" earl and of lord marſhal of England. I have been content
" to do her majeſty the ſervice of a clerk; but I can never
" ſerve her as a villain or ſlave. But yet you ſay I muſt give
" way unto the time. So I do; for now that I ſee the ſtorm
" come, I have put myſelf into the harbour. *Seneca* ſaieth,
" we muſt give way to Fortune: I know that Fortune is both
" blind and ſtrong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of
" her way. You ſay, the remedy is not to ſtrive: I neither
" ſtrive

" ſtrive nor ſeek for remedy. But, you ſay, I muſt yield and " ſubmit: I can neither yield myſelf to be guilty, nor allow " the imputation laid upon me to be juſt: I owe ſo much to " the Author of all truth, as I can never yield truth to be " falſehood, nor falſehood to be truth. Have I given cauſe, " you aſk; and yet take a ſcandal when I have done? No: " I gave no cauſe, not ſo much as *Fimbria*'s complaint againſt " me; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere*: Receive the whole " ſword into my body. I patiently bear all, and ſenſibly feel " all that I then received, when this ſcandal was given me. " Nay more, when the vileſt of all indignities are done unto " me," &c. This noble letter, Bacon afterwards, in pleading againſt Eſſex, called bold and preſumptuous, and derogatory to her majeſty. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 388.

## NOTE [KK], p. 420.

MOST of queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and deſire towards her, and addreſſed themſelves to her in the ſtile of paſſion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into diſgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it ſhewn to the queen. " My heart was never broke till this day, " that I hear the queen goes away ſo far off, whom I have " followed ſo many years, with ſo great love and deſire, in " ſo many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark " priſon all alone. While ſhe was yet near at hand, that I " might hear of her once in two or three days, my ſorrows " were the leſs; but even now my heart is caſt into the depth " of all miſery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like " *Alexander*, hunting like *Diana*, walking like *Venus*, the " gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, " like a nymph, ſometimes ſitting in the ſhade like a Godeſs, ſometimes ſinging like an angel, ſometimes playing " like *Orpheus*; behold the ſorrow of this world! once amiſs " hath bereaved me of all. O glory that only ſhineth in " misfortune, what is become of thy aſſurance? All wounds " have ſcars but that of fantaſie: All affections their relenting but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friend-

" ſhip but adverſity, or when is grace witneſſed but in of-
" fences? There were no divinity but by reaſon of com-
" paſſion: For revenges are brutiſh and mortal. All thoſe
" times paſt, the loves, the ſighs, the ſorrows, the deſires,
" cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot
" one drop of gall be hid in ſo great heaps of ſweetneſs? I
" may then conclude, *Spes & fortuna, valete.* She is gone
" in whom I truſted; and of me hath not one thought of
" mercy, nor any reſpect of that which was. Do with me
" now therefore what you liſt. I am more weary of life than
" they are deſirous I ſhould periſh; which, if it had been for
" her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born." *Mur-
den*, 657. It is to be remarked, that this Nymph, Venus,
Goddeſs, Angel, was then about ſixty. Yet five or ſix years
after, ſhe allowed the ſame language to be held to her. Sir
Henry Unton, her ambaſſador in France, relates to her a
converſation which he had with Henry IV. The monarch,
after having introduced Unton to his miſtreſs, the fair Ga-
brielle, aſked him how he liked her. " I anſwered ſparingly
" in her praiſe," ſaid the miniſter, " and told him, that if,
" without offence, I might ſpeak it, I had the picture of a far
" more excellent miſtreſs, and yet did her picture come far
" ſhort of her perfection of beauty. As you love me, ſaid he,
" ſhew it me, if you have it about you. I made ſome diffi-
" culties; yet upon his importunity offered it to his view
" very ſecretly, holding it ſtill in my hand: He beheld it
" with paſſion and admiration, ſaying, that I had reaſon, *Je
" me rends*, proteſting, that he had never ſeen the like; ſo,
" with great reverence, he kiſſed it twice or thrice, I detain-
" ing it ſtill in my hand. In the end, with ſome kind of
" contention, he took it from me, vowing, that I might take
" my leave of it: For he would not forego it for any treaſure:
" And that to poſſeſs the favour of the lively picture, he
" would forſake all the world, and hold himſelf moſt happy;
" with many other moſt paſſionate ſpeeches." *Murden*, p. 718.
For farther particulars on this head, ſee the ingenious author
of the Catalogue of royal and noble Authors, article *Eſſex*.

## NOTE [LL], p. 441.

IT may not be amiſs to ſubjoin ſome paſſages of theſe ſpeeches; which may ſerve to give us a juſt idea of the government of that age, and of the political principles, which prevailed during the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Laurence Hyde propoſed a bill, entituled, An act for the explanation of the common law in certain caſes of letters patent. Mr. Spicer ſaid, This bill may touch the prerogative-royal, which, as I learned the laſt parliament, is ſo tranſcendent, that the ——— of the ſubject may not aſpire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the ſtate and prerogative-royal of the prince ſhould be tied by me, or by the act of any other ſubject. Mr. Francis Bacon ſaid, As to the prerogative-royal of the prince, for my own part, I ever allowed of it; and it is ſuch as I hope will never be diſcuſſed. The queen, as ſhe is our ſovereign, hath both an enlarging and reſtraining power. For by her prerogative ſhe may ſet at liberty things reſtrained by ſtatute law or otherwiſe, and ſecondly, by her prerogative ſhe may reſtrain things which be at liberty. For the firſt, ſhe may grant a *non obſtante* contrary to the penal laws.———With regard to monopolies and ſuch like caſes, the caſe hath ever been to humble ourſelves unto her majeſty, and by petition deſire to have our grievances remedied, eſpecially when the remedy toucheth her ſo nigh in point of prerogative———I ſay, and I ſay it again, that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her majeſty's prerogative. I wiſh therefore every man to be careful of this buſineſs. Dr. Bennet ſaid, He that goeth about to debate her majeſty's prerogative had need to walk warily. Mr. Laurence Hyde ſaid, For the bill itſelf, I made it, and I think I underſtand it: And far be it from this heart of mine to think, this tongue to ſpeak, or this hand to write any thing either in prejudice or derogation of her majeſty's prerogative-royal and the ſtate. ——Mr. Speaker, quoth Serjeant Harris, for ought I ſee, the houſe moveth to have this bill in the nature of a petition. It muſt then begin with more humiliation. And truly, Sir, the bill is good of itſelf, but the penning of it is ſomewhat out of courſe. Mr. Montagu ſaid, The matter is good and honeſt,

and

and I like this manner of proceeding by bill well enough in this matter. The grievances are great, and I would note only unto you thus much, that the laſt parliament we proceeded by way of petition, which had no ſucceſsful effect. Mr. Francis More ſaid, I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal; yet all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue or conceive with my heart the great grievances that the town and country, for which I ſerve, ſuffereth by ſome of theſe monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all this is beggary and bondage to the ſubjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather: There is a patent ſets all at liberty, notwithſtanding that ſtatute. And to what purpoſe is it to do any thing by act of parliament, when the queen will undo the ſame by her prerogative? Out of the ſpirit of humiliation, Mr. Speaker, I do ſpeak it, there is no act of her's that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majeſty, more odious to the ſubject, more dangerous to the commonwealth than the granting of theſe monopolies. Mr. Martin ſaid, I do ſpeak for a town that grieves and pines, for a country that groaneth and languiſheth under the burthen of monſtrous and unconſcionable ſubſtitutes to the monopolitans of ſtarch, tin, fiſh, cloth, oil, vinegar, ſalt, and I know not what; nay, what not? The principaleſt commodities both of my town and country are engroſt into the hands of theſe blood-ſuckers of the commonwealth. If a body, Mr. Speaker, being let blood, be left ſtill languiſhing without any remedy, how can the good eſtate of that body ſtill remain? Such is the ſtate of my town and country; the traffic is taken away, the inward and private commodities are taken away, and dare not be uſed without the licence of theſe monopolitans. If theſe blood-ſuckers be ſtill let alone to ſuck up the beſt and principaleſt commodities, which the earth there hath given us, what will become of us, from whom the fruits of our own ſoil and the commodities of our own labour, which with the ſweat of our brows, even up to the knees in mire and dirt, we have laboured for, ſhall be taken by warrant of ſupreme authority, which the poor ſubject dare not gainſay? Mr. George Moore

ſaid, We know the power of her majeſty cannot be reſtrained by any act; why therefore ſhould we thus talk? Admit we ſhould make this ſtatute with a *non obſtante*; yet the queen may grant a patent with a *non obſtante*, to croſs this *non obſtante*. I think therefore it agreeth more with the gravity and wiſdom of this houſe to proceed with all humbleneſs by petition than bill. Mr. Downland ſaid, As I would be no let or over-vehement in any thing, ſo I am not ſottiſh or ſenſeleſs of the common grievance of the commonwealth. If we proceed by way of petition, we can have no more gracious anſwer, than we had the laſt parliament to our petition. But ſince that parliament, we have no reformation. Sir Robert Wroth ſaid, I ſpeak, and I ſpeak it boldly, theſe patentees are worſe than ever they were. Mr. Hayward Townſend propoſed, that they ſhould make ſuit to her majeſty, not only to repeal all monopolies grievous to the ſubject, but alſo that it would pleaſe her majeſty to give the parliament leave to make an act, that they might be of no more force, validity, or effect, than they are at the common law, without the ſtrength of her prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the act being ſo reaſonable, we might aſſure ourſelves her majeſty would not delay the paſſing thereof, yet we, her loving ſubjects, &c. would not offer without her privity and conſent (the cauſe ſo nearly touching her prerogative) or go about to do any ſuch act.

On a ſubſequent day, the bill againſt monopolies was again introduced, and Mr. Spicer ſaid, It is to no purpoſe to offer to tie her majeſty's hands by act of parliament, when ſhe may looſen herſelf at her pleaſure. Mr. Davies ſaid, God hath given that power to abſolute princes, which he attributes to himſelf. *Dixi quod Dii eſtis.* (N. B. This axiom he applies to the kings of England.) Mr. ſecretary Cecil ſaid, I am ſervant to the queen, and before I would ſpeak and give conſent to a caſe that ſhould debaſe her prerogative, or abridge it, I would wiſh that my tongue were cut out of my head. I am ſure there were law-makers before there were laws: (Meaning, I ſuppoſe, that the ſovereign was above the laws.) One gentleman went about to poſſeſs us, with the execution of the law

law in an ancient record of 5 or 7 of Edward the third. Likely enough to be true in that time, when the king was afraid of the ſubject. If you ſtand upon law, and diſpute of the prerogative, hark ye what Bracton ſays, *Prærogativam noſtram nemo audeat diſputare.* And for my own part, I like not theſe courſes ſhould be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, ſhould perform the charge her majeſty gave unto you, in the beginning of this parliament, not to receive bills of this nature: For her majeſty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hands ſtretched out to every man's petitions.——When the prince diſpenſes with a penal law, that is left to the alteration of ſovereignty, that is good and irrevocable. Mr. Montague ſaid, I am loth to ſpeak what I know, leſt, perhaps, I ſhould diſpleaſe. The prerogative-royal is that which is now in queſtion, and which the laws of the land have ever allowed and maintained. Let us therefore apply by petition to her majeſty.

After the ſpeaker told the houſe that the queen had annulled many of the patents, Mr. Francis More ſaid, I muſt confeſs, Mr. Speaker, I moved the houſe both the laſt parliament and this, touching this point; but I never meant (and I hope the houſe thinketh ſo) to ſet limits and bounds to the prerogative royal. He proceeds to move, that thanks ſhould be given to her majeſty; and alſo, that whereas divers ſpeeches have been moved extravagantly in the houſe, which doubtleſs have been told her majeſty, and perhaps ill conceived of by her, Mr. Speaker would apologize, and humbly crave pardon for the ſame. N. B. Theſe extracts were taken by Townſend, a member of the houſe, who was no courtier; and the extravagance of the ſpeeches ſeems rather to be on the other ſide: It will certainly appear ſtrange to us, that this liberty ſhould be thought extravagant. However, the queen, notwithſtanding her cajoling the houſe, was ſo ill ſatisfied with theſe proceedings, that ſhe ſpoke of them peeviſhly in her concluding ſpeech, and told them, that ſhe perceived that private reſpects with them were privately maſqued under public preſence. D'Ewes, p. 619.

There were ſome other topics, in favour of prerogative, ſtill more extravagant, advanced in the houſe this parliament.

When the queſtion of the ſubſidy was before them, Mr. Serjeant Heyle ſaid, Mr. Speaker, I marvel much, that the houſe ſhould ſtand upon granting of a ſubſidy or the time of payment, when all we have is her majeſty's, and ſhe may lawfully at her pleaſure take it from us: Yea, ſhe hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown. At which all the houſe hemmed, and laughed, and talked. Well, quoth ſerjeant Heyle, all your hemming ſhall not put me out of countenance. So Mr. Speaker ſtood up and ſaid, It is a great diſorder, that this houſe ſhould be uſed.——So the ſaid ſerjeant proceeded, and when he had ſpoken a little while, the houſe hemmed again; and ſo he ſat down. In his latter ſpeech, he ſaid, he could prove his former poſition by precedents in the time of Henry the third, king John, king Stephen, &c. which was the occaſion of their hemming. D'Ewes, p. 633. It is obſervable, that Heyle was an eminent lawyer, a man of character. Winwood, vol. i. p. 290. And though the houſe in general ſhewed their diſapprobation, no one cared to take him down, or oppoſe theſe monſtrous poſitions. It was alſo aſſerted this ſeſſion, that in the ſame manner as the Roman conſul was poſſeſſed of the power of rejecting or admitting motions in the ſenate, the ſpeaker might either admit or reject bills in the houſe. D'Ewes, p. 677. The houſe declared themſelves againſt this opinion; but the very propoſal of it is a proof at what a low ebb liberty was at that time in England.

In the year 1591, the judges made a ſolemn decree, that England was an abſolute empire, of which the king was the head. In conſequence of this opinion, they determined, that even if the act of the firſt of Elizabeth had never been made, the king was ſupreme head of the church; and might have erected, by his prerogative, ſuch a court as the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: For that he was the head of all his ſubjects. Now that court was plainly arbitrary: The inference is, that his power was equally abſolute over the laity. See Coke's Reports, p. 5. Caudrey's caſe.

## NOTE [MM], p. 471.

WE have remarked before that Harriſon, in book ii. chap. 11. ſays, that in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged ſeventy-two thouſand thieves and rogues *(beſides other malefactors)*; this makes about two thouſand a year: But in queen Elizabeth's time, the ſame author ſays, there were only between three and four hundred a year hanged for theft and robbery: So much had the times mended. But in our age, there are not forty a year hanged for thoſe crimes in all England. Yet Harriſon complains of the relaxation of the laws, that there were ſo few ſuch rogues puniſhed in his time. Our vulgar prepoſſeſſion, in favour of the morals of former and rude ages, is very abſurd, and ill-grounded. The ſame author ſays, chap. 10. that there were computed to be 10,000 gipſies in England; a ſpecies of banditti, introduced about the reign of Henry VIII.; and he adds, that there will be no way of extirpating them, by the ordinary courſe of juſtice: The queen muſt employ martial law againſt them. That race has now almoſt totally diſappeared in England and even in Scotland, where there were ſome remains of them a few years ago. However arbitrary the exerciſe of martial law, in the crown, it appears, that no body in the age of Elizabeth entertained any jealouſy of it.

## NOTE [NN], p. 480.

HARRISON, *in his Deſcription of Britain, printed in* 1577, *has the following paſſage*, chap. 13. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful ſort of ſhips than the queen's majeſty of England at this preſent; and thoſe generally are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of them of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.——The queen's highneſs hath at this preſent already made and furniſhed to the number of one and twenty great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham rode. Beſide theſe, her grace hath other in hand alſo, of

whom hereafter as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave ſome farther remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies, the Speedwell, the Tryeright, and the Black Galley, with the ſight whereof, and the reſt of the navy-royal, it is incredible to ſay how marvellouſly her grace is delighted; and not without great cauſe, ſith by their means her coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwiſe would invade us. *After ſpeaking of the merchant ſhips, which he ſays, are commonly eſtimated at* 17 *or* 18 *hundred, he continues.* I add, therefore, to the end all men ſhould underſtand ſomewhat of the *great maſſes of treaſure*, daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of thoſe ſhips of the firſt and ſecond ſort, (that is of the merchant ſhips), that being apparelled and made ready to ſail, are not worth one thouſand pounds or three thouſand duckats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſently be ſold. What ſhall we then think of the navy-royal, of which ſome one veſſel is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwright has often told me.——It is poſſible that ſome covetous perſon, hearing this report, will either not credit at all, or ſuppoſe money ſo employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers; as a good huſband ſaid once when he heard that proviſions ſhould be made for armour, wiſhing the queen's money to be rather laid out to ſome ſpeedier return of gain unto her grace: But if he wiſt that the good-keeping of the ſea is the ſafeguard of our land, he would alter his cenſure, and ſoon give over his judgement. *Speaking of the foreſts, this author ſays,* An infinite deal of wood hath been deſtroyed within theſe few years, and I dare affirm, that, if wood do go ſo faſt to decay in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are like to do in this, it is to be feared, that ſea-coal will be good merchandize even in the city of London. Harriſon's prophecy was fulfilled in a very few years: For about 1615, there were 200 ſail employed in carrying coal to London. See Anderſon, vol. i. p. 494.

## NOTE [OO], p. 487.

LIFE of Burleigh publiſhed by Collins, p. 44. The author hints, that this quantity of plate was conſidered only as ſmall in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are, *his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds:* That he means pounds weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away in legacies, to friends and relations, near four thouſand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thouſand pounds ſterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions; the half to his eldeſt ſon and heir; the other half to be divided equally among his ſecond ſon and three daughters. Were we therefore to underſtand the whole value of his plate to be only 14 or 15,000 pounds ſterling, he left not the tenth of it to the heir of his family.

## NOTE [PP], p. 487.

HARRISON ſays, "the greateſt part of our building in the "cities and good towns of England conſiſteth only of "timber, caſt over with thick clay to keep out the wind. "Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in "queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they ſaw "that large diet was uſed in many of theſe ſo homely cottages, "inſomuch that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them, "ſaid, after this manner; Theſe Engliſh, quoth he, have "their houſes made of ſticks and dirt, but they fare commonly "ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth, that he liked "better of our good fare in ſuch coarſe cabins, than of their "own thin diet in their princely habitations and palaces. "The clay with which our houſes are commonly impannelled "is either white, red, or blue." Book ii. chap. 12. The author adds, that the new houſes of the nobility are commonly of brick or ſtone, and that glaſs-windows were beginning to be uſed in England.

## NOTE [QQ], p. 490.

THE following are the words of Roger Aſcham, the queen's preceptor. "It is your ſhame (I ſpeak to you "all, you young gentlemen of England), that one maid "ſhould go beyond ye all in excellency of learning and know-"ledge of divers tongues. Point out ſix of the beſt given "gentlemen of this court, and all they together ſhow not ſo "much good will, ſpend not ſo much time, beſtow not ſo "many hours daily, orderly, and conſtantly, for the encreaſe "of learning and knowledge as doth the queen's majeſty "herſelf. Yea I believe, that, beſides her perfect readineſs "in Latin, Italian, French, and Spaniſh, ſhe readeth here "now at Windſor more Greek every day, than ſome preben-"dary of this church doth Latin in a whole week.—Amongſt "all the benefits which God hath bleſſed me withal, next the "knowledge of Chriſt's true religion, I count this the greateſt, "that it pleaſed God to call me to be one poor miniſter in ſet-"ting forward theſe excellent gifts of learning," &c. Page 242. Truly, ſays Harriſon, it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language; and to ſay how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, beſides ſound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto noleſs ſkilful in the Spaniſh, Italian, and French, or in ſome one of them, it reſteth not in me, ſith I am perſuaded, that as the noblemen and gentlemen do ſurmount, in this behalf, ſo theſe come little or nothing at all behind them, for their parts; which induſtry God continue.——The ſtranger, that entereth in the court of England upon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelf to come into ſome public ſchool of the univerſity, where many give ear to one that readeth unto them, than into a prince's palace, if you confer thus with thoſe of other nations. Deſcription of Britain, book ii. chap. 15. By this account, the court had profited by the example of the queen: The ſober way of life practiſed by the ladies of Elizabeth's court appears from the ſame author. Reading, ſpinning, and needle-work occupied the elder; muſic the younger. Id. ibid.

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